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IN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER
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THE TUDORS (1485-1603)

CHAPTER I

HENRY VII. (1485-1509)

Chief Dates :

- 1485. Accession of Henry VII.
- 1487. Imposture of Lambert Simnel.
- 1492. Treaty of Étaples ; beginning of Warbeck's imposture.
- 1494. Poynings' Law.
- 1496. The *Magnus Intercursus*.
- 1499. Execution of Warbeck and Warwick.
- 1503. Marriage of James IV. and Margaret Tudor.
- 1509. Death of Henry VII.

1. HENRY VII. had been schooled by his early trials in prison and exile to repress his feelings, and to regard his own interests as his primary care. Silent, cold, suspicious, and reserved, he was never able to make himself popular, though he delighted in fine clothes and the pageantry of his office. Prudent, careful, and politic, he was remorseless to those who stood in his way, though never capricious or bloodthirsty. Greedy as he was of wealth and power, he refused to regard himself as the mere chief of the Lancastrian faction, and did his best to make himself king over the whole nation. One of his first acts was to marry the Lady Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV., and, by her brothers' disappearance, the nearest representative of the house of York. He hoped thereby that the friends of Edward IV., who had hated the usurpation of Richard, would thus become his supporters. Anyhow it was certain that the children of Henry and Elizabeth would have a clearer title to the throne than any king after Richard II.

2. The long faction fight could not be ended in a day, and the

first years of the new reign seemed but a continuation of the old struggles of the rival houses. Henry had to reward his followers, and though he deprived few Yorkists of their estates and titles, the return of the Lancastrian exiles, and the elevation of his friends and kinsfolk to high rank, naturally changed the balance of parties. The Yorkists at once sought to redress their fortunes by rebellion, and Henry VII. soon found, like Henry IV., that his real difficulty was not in conquering England, but in holding it.

Continuance
of the old
party
struggles.

3. The first Yorkist rising was in 1486, when Lord Lovel and the Staffords, the kinsmen of the late duke of Buckingham, broke into rebellion at once in different parts of the country. They were easily put down. Without a leader, it was hard for the Yorkists to act together. Their natural head was the wife of the Lancastrian king, while their nearest male representative, Edward, earl of Warwick, the son of the murdered Clarence and a daughter of the king-maker, was detained a close prisoner in the Tower by the suspicious Henry.

Lord Lovel's
rising, 1486.

4. Outside England, circumstances were more favourable to the Yorkists. Edward IV.'s sister, Margaret of Burgundy, the widow of Charles the Rash, still possessed great influence in the Netherlands, and encouraged every plot against the hated Tudors. Though Ireland was for all practical purposes independent of England, and ruled by its own clan chieftains and feudal lords, yet the house of York, as heir of the Mortimers, had a strong position among the leading Irish families. There were many Irish barons eager to make loyalty to York an excuse for throwing off even nominal obedience to the English king. Chief among these was the earl of Kildare, the head of the Leinster branch of the great Norman house of Fitzgerald. Kildare had been made deputy, or governor, of Ireland by Richard III., and was no friend to Henry Tudor. Though the new king had not ventured to take away from him his office, he had set over him as lord lieutenant his uncle, Jasper Tudor, now duke of Bedford. This so much irritated Kildare that he gladly fell in with the scheme hatched by Margaret of Burgundy to supply the Yorkists with a pretext for a fresh rebellion. In 1487 there landed in Ireland a pretty boy, about twelve years old, accompanied by a priest, who gave out that the child was Edward, earl of Warwick, who, he said, had escaped from the Tower. The Fitzgeralds at once took up the cause of the youth, and had him crowned king in Dublin. Really, the pretender was one Lambert Simnel, the son of

Lambert
Simnel,
1487.

an Oxford organ-maker. Having no true prince in whose name they could fight, the Yorkists set up this impostor as their candidate for the throne. It was easy for Henry to defeat so transparent a fraud. He took the real Warwick out of prison, so that the Londoners could see for themselves that the boy-king in Ireland was a counterfeit. Before long, Simnel's friends were reinforced by the exile Lovel and a troop of German mercenaries, under Martin Schwarz. They were now emboldened to cross the Channel and try their fortunes in England. But few English joined the motley host of Irish, Germans, and Yorkists. The invaders were easily defeated at the battle of *Stoke*, near Newark, and the pretended Warwick fell into the king's hands. Henry showed his contempt for the impostor by giving him a free pardon, and making him first turnspit in the royal kitchen. Henry was, however, still so weak that he forgave Kildare, the real author of the revolt.

5. During the first years of his reign, Henry had many troubles abroad. Besides the old duchess of Burgundy, both Scotland and

The Breton
succession
and the
treaty of
Étaples,
1492.

France were unfriendly to him. To meet the hostility of Charles VIII. of France, Henry made an alliance with Duke Francis of Brittany, who was at war with his overlord. However, in 1488, Francis died, leaving as his heir an only daughter named Anne. The French now sought to marry the Duchess Anne to their young king, Charles VIII., and so unite Brittany and France. This alarmed the chief enemies of France, Ferdinand, king of Spain, and Maximilian of Austria, king of the Romans, who, by marrying the daughter of Charles the Rash, had established himself as lord of the Netherlands. Henry ventured to ally himself with these princes against the French, and sent small forces to Flanders and to Brittany. The French now overran Brittany, and in 1491 Anne was married to Charles VIII. Next year (1492) Henry levied a large army, and landed in France. Like Edward IV. in 1475, he showed little eagerness to fight, and willingly made peace with the French in the *treaty of Étaples*, by which the French paid him a good round sum of money to ensure the withdrawal of his army. This inglorious retreat of Henry disgusted his allies without conciliating his enemies.

6. The friendlessness of Henry outside his kingdom soon bore fruit in a new imposture, much more formidable than the weak attempt of Lambert Simnel. A little before the treaty of Étaples there landed in Ireland a youth of noble presence and attractive

manners, who declared that he was Richard, duke of York, the younger of the sons of Edward IV. whom Richard III. had immured in the Tower. He said that he had escaped when his brother Edward V. was slain, and had now come to claim his inheritance. In truth, he was Perkin Warbeck, a native of Tournai, in the Netherlands, and inspired, like Simnel, by the bitter malice of Margaret of Burgundy. Warbeck played his part so well that many people honestly believed in him, and for seven years he was a source of constant anxiety to Henry VII.

7. Moved by Henry's clemency on a former occasion, Kildare and the Fitzgeralds gave a colder welcome to Warbeck than to Simnel. The new impostor soon left Ireland. Charles VIII. recognized him, and invited him to France, where many of the exiled Yorkists gathered round him. Driven from France by the treaty of Étampes, he found a refuge with Margaret of Burgundy, who declared him to be her nephew. Meanwhile, Yorkist conspirators were active in England. In 1495 these were joined by Sir William Stanley, who, with his brother, in 1485 made earl of Derby, had been chiefly instrumental in gaining Henry the throne. Like Hotspur under Henry IV., Stanley was discontented with the rewards given to him by the king, and was now eager to undo the work of his own hands. His plot was discovered; he confessed his guilt, and was put to death.

8. Disappointed at the failure of his friends, Warbeck strove to take his destinies in his own hands. Little success attended his gallant attempts. He failed to effect a landing in Kent; another effort to win over Ireland was attended with indifferent success. Meanwhile, Henry had cultivated the friendship of both Charles VIII. and Maximilian with such success that the Continent was henceforth barred to the impostor. James IV., king of Scots, was still Henry's enemy. In 1496 he invited Warbeck to Scotland, married him to his cousin, the Lady Catharine Gordon, and invaded the north of England, proclaiming that he was come to overthrow the usurper Henry Tudor, and uphold the just claims of Richard IV. No English would join a pretender backed up by the Scots, and James was forced to retire without daring to fight a battle. Next year a threat of invasion from England compelled the king of Scots to dismiss Warbeck from his country. Once more the impostor took refuge in Ireland, but soon found that his chance was as hopeless there as in the north.

Perkin
Warbeck,
1492.

Execution
of Sir
William
Stanley,
1495.

Warbeck's
exclusion
from
France and
Scotland.

9. In 1496 Henry VII. made the Scots inroad an excuse for exacting heavy taxes from his subjects. In 1497 the Cornishmen, who had no fear of the Scots, rose in revolt, and, headed by a lawyer named Flammoek, marched to London, and encamped on Blackheath, where, after hard fighting, they were scattered. Warbeck took the bold course of landing in Cornwall, hoping that the inhabitants of that shire, inspired by the spirit which had sent them to Blackheath, would welcome him, and rebel once more in his favour. He soon found enough followers to march eastward and besiege Exeter. Failing to capture the capital of the west, he resumed his eastern march as far as Taunton, where a royal army stopped his further progress. Seeing that battle was inevitable the next day, Warbeck lost heart. Leaving his followers to their fate, he took sanctuary with the Cistercian monks of Beaulieu in Hampshire. The Cornishmen, abandoned by their leader, went back to their homes, and so the danger to Henry's throne was over. Before long Warbeck was persuaded to surrender, on the promise of his life being spared. He was imprisoned in the Tower, where he made friends with the captive earl of Warwick. In 1499 both Warbeck and Warwick were condemned and executed, on a charge of an attempt to seize the Tower and overthrow the king. Whether guilty or not, their removal deprived the Yorkist party of its last sorry leaders, and firmly established Henry Tudor on the throne. The Wars of the Roses were at last over.

10. Henry had perceived that his chief danger from Warbeck came from the unfriendliness of foreign powers. He therefore strove to conciliate the chief princes of Europe, and we have seen how successfully he had cut at the roots of the impostor's strength. The treaty of Étapes had driven Warbeck from France. It was a harder business to remove him from Flanders, since Maximilian declared that the dowager duchess was free to do what she liked in her own lands. Henry had, however, a useful weapon against him in the close commercial relations that still bound Flanders to England. By prohibiting all trade between the two countries, he soon persuaded Maximilian to keep Warbeck out of his dominions. In 1496 the relations between Maximilian and Henry were made very cordial by a treaty called the *Magnus Intercursus*, or Great Intercourse, by which trade was resumed, and both princes promised not to support each other's enemies. Ten years

The Magnus Intercursus, 1496, and the Malus Intercursus, 1506.

later, in 1506, Maximilian's son, the Archduke Philip, the real ruler of the Netherlands, was driven by bad weather to take refuge in an English port on his way to claim the throne of Spain. Henry treated Philip with all honour, but would not suffer him to continue his journey until he had signed a new treaty of commerce. This favoured English traders so much that the Flemings called it the *Malus Intercursus*—that is, the Bad Intercourse.

11. Foreign politics were more important than at an earlier time, since the leading monarchs of Europe were now so powerful that they had plenty of time to intervene in each other's affairs, and their mutual jealousies and alliances led to the beginning of what was called the *European Political System*, in which the chief princes strove to maintain a *balance of power* between each other, and prevent any one state from attaining such greatness as to make it dangerous to its neighbours. After the conquest of Brittany, Charles VIII. of France invaded Italy in 1494, and made himself for a time king of Naples. This triumph was but short-lived, for the Italians contrived to drive him out, and his rivals sided with them through their fear of the French. Conspicuous among the enemies of France were the Emperor Maximilian I. and Ferdinand, king of Aragon. Maximilian was a vain, showy, and moneyless prince, whose power was not very great. Ferdinand of Aragon was the wisest and strongest king of his day. He had married Isabella, queen of Castile, and the union of the two chief kingdoms of the peninsula under this couple was the beginning of the great Spanish monarchy.

The European political system and the balance of power.

12. Always suspicious of France, Henry made it the main object of his policy to win Ferdinand and Isabella to his side. He servilely followed their lead, and sought to marry his eldest son, Arthur, prince of Wales, to their younger daughter, the Infanta Catharine of Aragon. After five years' negotiations, the wedding was completed in 1501. Next year, however, Arthur died. Henry was so anxious to keep up the Spanish connection and to retain Catharine's liberal wedding portion in England, that he proposed that the widowed princess should marry his younger son Henry, who was now made Prince of Wales. As a marriage of a man to his brother's widow was prohibited by the Church, Henry obtained from Pope Julius II. a *dispensation* which suspended the law in this particular case. Thus Catharine remained in England, though several years elapsed before she and Henry were actually united. Meanwhile the dependence

The Spanish alliance, 1501.

of Henry on Ferdinand continued. The Archduke Philip, who had married Catharine's elder sister, Joan, and so became king of Castile on Isabella's death, died in 1506. Soon after his visit to England, Henry, already a widower, proposed to Ferdinand to marry Joan of Castile, though she was a madwoman.

13. Moreover, in 1503, Henry VII. wedded his elder daughter Margaret to James IV., king of Scots, who had up to then been generally hostile. Henry hoped to wean him from the Scottish marriage, that close connection with France that every Scottish monarch had cultivated since the days of Edward I. 1503. Though the first hopes of this were disappointed, this marriage was so far successful that a hundred years later a descendant of James and Margaret united the English and Scottish thrones.

14. Despite Henry VII.'s intrigues and alliances, the power of England abroad was still insignificant. It was something, however, that the Tudor king had shown that England had once more a foreign policy, and was no longer in the state of impotence and isolation which she had occupied during the Wars of the Roses. Henry's best work, however, was not abroad, but at home, where he gradually restored the royal power and put an end to the weak rule and confusion which had culminated in the struggle of Lancaster and York. Though he was a Lancastrian, he made no attempt to govern in the constitutional fashion of the three Henries who had preceded him. He preferred to base his rule on the model of Edward IV. He summoned parliament as seldom as he could, and did not scruple to disregard the law of Richard III. by raising money by benevolences. He passed several wise laws, one of the most important being an act of 1495, by which it was declared that no one who obeyed the king who was reigning for the time being should be punished as a traitor, whether that king ruled with a good title or not.

15. Henry VII. was fortunate in his ministers. His chief adviser, Cardinal Morton, who was both archbishop of Canterbury and lord chancellor, was much more of a statesman than an ecclesiastic. Henry's ministers. Morton served the king too faithfully to be popular, and was particularly shrewd in filling the king's coffers by indirect devices that did not openly break the law. After his death, in 1500, Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, was one of Henry's chief advisers, but the most trusted confidants of the king's latter years were two men of lower rank, Edmund Dudley and Richard Empson. Denounced by the people as Henry's "horse-leeches and skin-shearers," they managed to fill both the

king's pockets and their own by devices much more odious than any that Morton had indulged in. Through their help, and through the rigid economy which never deserted him, Henry accumulated a store of treasure such as no previous English king had gathered together.

16. Englishmen could afford to submit to Henry's exactions, since he kept the land in better order than it had known for a century. The chief trouble of fifteenth-century England had been in the inordinate power of the nobles. Henry was doing a service to the people as well as to the throne when he devoted his best energies to compelling the turbulent nobles to obey the law like ordinary citizens. A chief means by which the nobles had defied the law was through the custom of *livery and maintenance*, whereby all who wore the badge or livery of a lord were bound to support him in all his quarrels, while the lord in return was bound to *maintain* his liverymen. This meant that he was to back them up in whatever trouble beset them, and either to coerce the law-courts not to pass sentences against them, or, if they were condemned, to see that the sentences against them were not carried out. Many statutes had been passed making livery and maintenance unlawful, but none of them had succeeded, since they were carried out by those very courts which were so powerless against the great nobles. In 1487 Henry passed a fresh act against livery and maintenance, by which a new court was established to carry out the law. This court consisted of ministers of state of such high rank that they were not amenable to the pressure which the nobles were so often able to exert against the judge and jury of an ordinary assize court. This body was one source of the famous *Star Chamber*, which was to serve later monarchs in such good stead. Through this new court, Henry's statute was carried out so thoroughly that the abuses of livery and maintenance were speedily ended. The fate of the nobles ruined in attempts to resist Henry showed that the mightiest barons were no longer above the law. In thus breaking down the power of the aristocracy, Henry VII. laid solid foundations for that Tudor despotism which attained its culminating point under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth.

Reduction
of the
power of
the nobles.

17. Henry VII. also did a little to extend strong government to Wales and Ireland. Proud of his Welsh descent, he called his eldest son after the famous British king Arthur, and sent him to rule his principality from Ludlow, the old home of the Mortimers. The council of advisers to

Henry VII.'s
Welsh and
Irish policy.

the young prince became the nucleus of the body which in the next reign became the *Council of Wales*. In Ireland more immediate steps were necessary, and after Warbeck's first attempted landing, Henry deprived Kildare of his deputyship, and sent Sir Edward Poynings to Ireland as his successor. A plain Englishman, superior to the local feuds of the land he ruled, Poynings passed in 1494 the famous Irish act of parliament, called *Poynings' Law*, by which all English laws were declared to be of force in Ireland, and the Irish parliament was forbidden to pass any measure until it had received the approval of the king's council in England. Thus Ireland was made definitely dependent on the English government of the day. Henry had not, however, power to go far in the direction thus defined by Poynings. Before long he again made Kildare his deputy, thinking that the cheapest way of keeping some sort of order was to invest one of the Irish magnates with the exercise of the royal authority. "All Ireland," he was told, "could not rule the earl of Kildare." Henry is reported to have answered, "Then let the earl of Kildare rule all Ireland." Thus Ireland still remained practically independent under its own clan chieftains and feudal barons.

18. In this as in so many other matters, Henry VII. was only sowing that others might reap. But, when prematurely aged by the toils of statecraft, the first Tudor king died in 1509, he had established the infant dynasty on such a solid basis that his son and successor became from the moment of his accession one of the strongest of English monarchs.

Death of
Henry VII.

CHAPTER II

HENRY VIII. AND WOLSEY (1509-1529)

Chief Dates:

- 1509. Accession of Henry VIII.
- 1511. The Holy League.
- 1513. Battles of the Spurs and Flodden.
- 1515. Francis I., king of France; *Utopia* published.
- 1517. Beginning of the Reformation in Germany.
- 1519. Charles V., emperor.
- 1521-1525. War with France.
- 1521. Fall of Buckingham.
- 1525. Battle of Pavia.
- 1527. Henry applies for a divorce.
- 1529. Fall of Wolsey.

1. HENRY VIII. was only eighteen years old when he succeeded his father as king of England. Tall, robust, and well-built, with a round and fair-complexioned face, and short-cut, bright, auburn hair, Henry was the handsomest sovereign in Christendom. He was a splendid athlete, an accomplished horseman, an enthusiast for the chase, and an excellent tennis-player. He looked every inch a king, with his stately form set off by gorgeous attire, glittering with jewels and gold. Though tenacious of his dignity, his friendly hearty manner won him the love of rich and poor alike. Carefully educated by his father, he played and sang well, spoke several languages fluently, and delighted in the society of scholars. Though seemingly absorbed in a round of pleasure and amusement, he never forgot that his real work was to rule England. His strength of will and stubbornness of purpose made him one of the very ablest of our kings. He knew what he wanted, and had few scruples as to how to get it. A shrewd judge of character, he chose his ministers well, and used them to the uttermost. He was selfish, greedy, hard-hearted, without the faintest gleam of pity or of softness. Ever stern and relentless, he became in later life a cruel and hateful tyrant; but he never quite lost the love of his subjects,

and there always remained, amidst the worst excesses of his later life, some touch of his lionlike will and splendid force of purpose.

2. Henry was the first king since Henry v. whose title no man seriously disputed. Inheriting the fruits of his father's painful and laborious policy, and the great store of treasure that the elder king had hoarded up, Henry aspired to play a leading part in European politics. He felt that he could take up a bolder and more popular line than

Execution
of Empson
and Dudley,
1510.

Henry VII. He strove to win over the people to his side, while he completed his father's work of crushing the old nobility and the great churchmen, who had so long stood in the way of the royal power. His ambition was to rule England as a strong but popular and national despot, and his people, long accustomed to find in the king their best protection against aristocratic licence and misrule, gave him a hearty and ungrudging support. In his eagerness to win popular favour, he sent to the Tower Empson and Dudley, the hated agents of his father's grasping extortion. At first they were charged with tyrannising over the king's subjects in their collection of the taxes, but this true accusation was dropped for a foolish charge of treason and conspiracy against the king. Early in 1510 parliament passed an act of attainder against them as traitors. A few months later both were beheaded on Tower Hill.

3. Though remorselessly sacrificing to popular hatred the most notorious of his father's subordinate agents, Henry continued in office the tried ministers who had really fashioned Henry VII.'s policy. They were mainly bishops and nobles of high position, but of no great ability or energy. The foremost among them were Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, and Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey. Fox was a good and pious man, but anxious to give up politics; and Surrey, though a capable soldier, and the only conspicuous representative of the older nobles who remained unswervingly faithful to the king, was not clever enough to be able to give effect to the ambitious schemes of his young master. To carry out these an abler and more strenuous helper was necessary, and Henry soon found a minister after his own heart in Thomas Wolsey. The son of a substantial Ipswich merchant, Wolsey early distinguished himself at Oxford,

Rise of
Wolsey.

but soon abandoned the student's career to become chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury. Bishop Fox, who thought well of him, gave him a footing at court, and under Henry VII. he had shown his capacity in several embassies. Under the young king he became dean of Lincoln and almoner.

Fox's gradual withdrawal from politics gave Wolsey his opportunity, and the growing complication of foreign politics soon made him indispensable to Henry. In 1514 he became bishop of Lincoln, and, before the end of the year, archbishop of York. In 1515 he was made lord chancellor, and the pope sent him a cardinal's hat. For sixteen years Wolsey was supreme both in Church and State. Fresh preferment was heaped upon him, until he enjoyed the revenues of three or four bishoprics and of one of the richest abbeys in England. He lived on terms of intimate friendship with Henry, and though never gainsaying the fierce king's wishes, was able to control his policy as no other minister of the reign ever did. He was an indefatigable worker, and kept all the business of the state under his own control. Equally competent to organize an army and to conduct a subtle diplomatic intrigue, he was alike able to formulate a great policy and to plod patiently through the dull details of administration. He affected a pomp and ostentation such as the proudest nobles did not aspire to; but he posed as the friend of the poor, listening patiently to their lawsuits, and dealing out to them even-handed justice. The great nobles both envied him and hated him, recognizing in him the chief instrument employed by the king for their abasement. He had few of the strict virtues of the churchman, though he was a munificent patron of learning, and wished to see the clergy better educated and more energetic. He had something of the pride, the greed, the ostentation, and love of pleasure of his master; but he had a clear vision of the right policy for his country, and without his rare gifts the young king's reign would have been shorn of much of its glory.

4. The ability and energy of Wolsey were of special service to his master in the region of foreign politics. Under Henry VII. England had been of little account in European affairs; and the old king's fidelity to the Spanish alliance had met with but scanty recompense from Ferdinand of Aragon. As in the days of Henry VII., the rivalry of Louis XII. of France and of Ferdinand of Spain was the central fact of the European situation, and Italy had become more than ever the prize of victory. Louis, as duke of Milan, was the chief power in Northern Italy, and Ferdinand, as king of Naples and Sicily, dominated the south of the peninsula. Both princes threw themselves into the complicated intrigues of the Italian statesmen, and shared their fears of the aggressions of the wise, strong, and wealthy republic of Venice. So far did this fear lead them, that in 1508 Ferdinand and Louis forgot their rivalry for a

Foreign
politics.

moment, and united with the Emperor Maximilian I in the *League of Cambrai* against Venice. This union of all the chief powers of the Continent had the effect of isolating England from all opportunity of taking part in Continental politics. Nevertheless, Henry VIII. kept on good terms with Spain, and within a few weeks of his accession, he carried out his long-deferred marriage with Catharine of Aragon, Ferdinand's daughter, and his brother Arthur's widow. For three years the continuance of the League of Cambrai made Henry powerless to take a line of his own. But the clever Venetian statesmen began to play upon the jealousies of the ill-assorted coalition arrayed against them, and in 1511 they succeeded in breaking up the alliance altogether. Julius II., the fierce and warlike pope, who had taken a prominent part in the league, became alarmed lest the destruction of Venice should be followed by the establishment of French rule in Italy. He persuaded Ferdinand and Maximilian to break off their connection with France, and to join in a new combination with the Venetians, whose object was to drive the French out of Italy. This league was called the *Holy League*, because the pope was at the head of it.

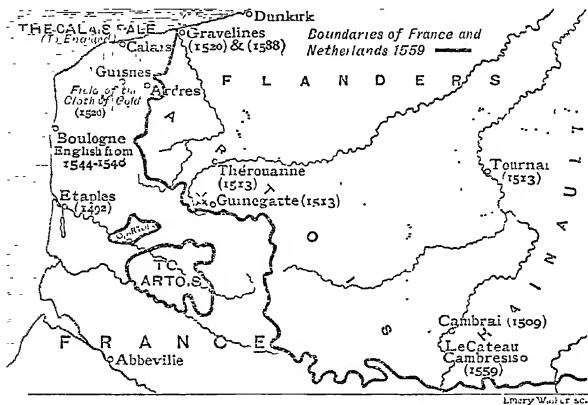
5. Henry VIII. was delighted that the break-up of the confederates of Cambrai into two factions gave him a chance of taking up a line of his own. He joined the Holy League, hoping to win glory for himself by gaining victories over the French, and believing that with the help of Maximilian and Ferdinand he might again bring Normandy and Gascony under the English king's rule. Wolsey showed wonderful energy in raising armies to fight his master's battles, and in levying the sums of money necessary to equip and feed them. It was the first time that England actively entered into a general European war waged on the large scale of modern times.

6. In 1512 there was fighting all over Europe. The Holy League drove the French out of Milan, and Ferdinand of Aragon conquered the little kingdom of Navarre, which was closely allied to France. Henry sent his cousin, Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset, with a considerable army to the north of Spain, hoping that the Spaniards would co-operate with him in his attempt to win back Gascony, the ancient heritage of the English kings. But Ferdinand was busy with Navarre, and left the English to look after themselves. The raw English troops were kept inactive; and disgust at the weakness of their generals, and complaints of the badness of the food and drink supplied to

them, soon drove them into mutiny. Dorset was forced by his own soldiers to return to England without accomplishing anything at all. It was a ludicrous result after all Henry's fine talk of foreign conquests.

7. In 1513 Henry and Wolsey made fresh efforts to restore the credit of their arms. The king himself led an army through the open gate of Calais into the French king's lands, and the needy emperor, who claimed to be Caesar Augustus, and lord of the world, appeared in the English camp, and greedily took English pay. Henry defeated the French at *Guinegate* with so much ease that the English called their victory

Battle of
the Spurs,
1513.

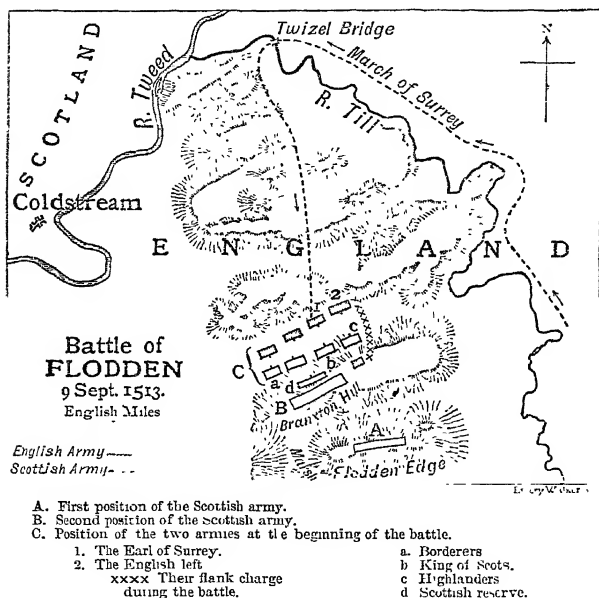


THE FRENCH AND NETHERLANDISH BORDERS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

the *Battle of the Spurs*, since the enemy made more use of their spurs in their flight than of their swords in the struggle. This victory led to the capture of the towns of Théroutanne and Tournai. Wolsey, who had served all through the campaign with but little regard to the peaceful character of a prelate, was now made bishop of Tournai as the reward of his efforts.

8. After the ancient fashion, the French sought to weaken the English attack by stirring up their old allies the Scots to cross the Border. James IV., though Henry VIII.'s brother-in-law, eagerly

abandoned his new friendship with the English in favour of the traditional policy of the Scottish kings. About the time of the Battle of the Spurs he crossed the Tweed at the head of a well-equipped and gallant army, and easily captured many of the border castles. The earl of Surrey hastened to the north to expel the intruder. On Surrey's approach, James took up a strong position on *Flodden Edge*, one of the northern offshoots of the Cheviot hills, a few miles south of



Coldstream. The deep and broad river Till protected his right flank, and a marsh made his left hard to get at. Surrey, who was on the opposite or east bank of the Till, was unable to attack with advantage, but by a clever march northwards he succeeded in crossing the Till at Twizel Bridge, and put himself between the Scots army and Scotland. As Surrey moved northwards, James

foolishly abandoned Flodden Edge and stationed his army on Branxton Hill, a lower elevation, at some distance to the north. Surrey turned south to meet him, and on his approach, the Scots came down from the hill, and on September 9 the decisive battle was fought in the plain at its foot. The Scots king blundered to the last, and the four divisions into which his army was divided were stationed so far apart that they could do little to help each other. The struggle soon resolved itself into a fierce hand-to-hand fight. Though the borderers on the Scots' left carried all before them, the English left easily scattered the Highlanders who fought on the Scots' right. In the centre there was a prolonged struggle between Surrey and James, but when the English left turned from the pursuit of the Highlanders and took James in flank and rear, all that the Scots could do was to sell their lives as dearly as possible. The northern army was utterly destroyed, and James, with the bravest of his nobility, lay dead on the field. The victorious Surrey was rewarded by being made duke of Norfolk, a title which his father had forfeited by his support of Richard III.

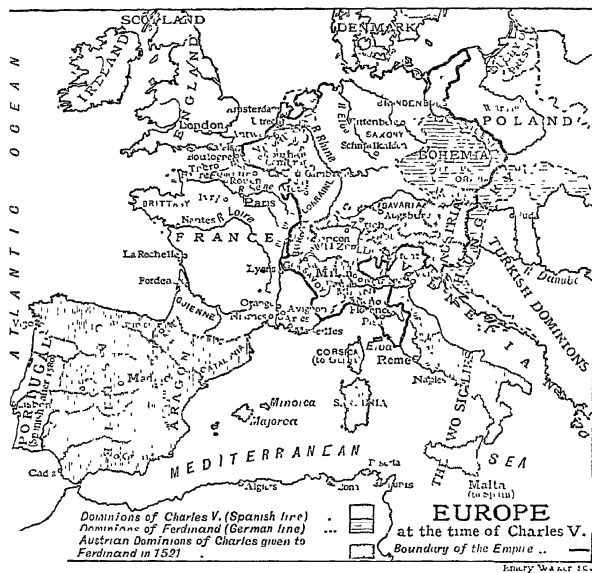
9. Flodden Field was the only great exploit in the war. Henry was bitterly disappointed with the result of his intervention on the continent. He had got no help from his selfish allies, who only looked after their own interests, and he saw that it was hopeless to expect to win by English resources alone new victories that could match with Crécy and Agincourt. Louis XII., who had been finally driven out of Italy, was old and broken in health, and wishful to end his days in peace. Julius II. was dead, and the new pope Leo X was anxious not to risk the results of his victories by continuing the war. Moreover, after James IV.'s death, his widow, Margaret Tudor, ruled over Scotland in the name of her little son, and won over the country to the English side. It thus became easy for Henry to make peace with France and Scotland, and he had little scruple in throwing over his father-in-law, Ferdinand, who had helped him so badly. The peace with France was cemented by the marriage of Henry's younger sister, Mary, to Louis XII. With his two sisters reigning over the French and Scots, Henry came easily out of a war that had brought him more expense and worry than glory.

Peace with
France and
Scotland,
1514.

10. For the next seven years England enjoyed unbroken peace. The special feature of this time was the dying off of the older generation of rulers, in whose places arose young, vigorous, and able princes, of the same age and with the same ambitions as the king of England. Louis XII.

The young
princes.

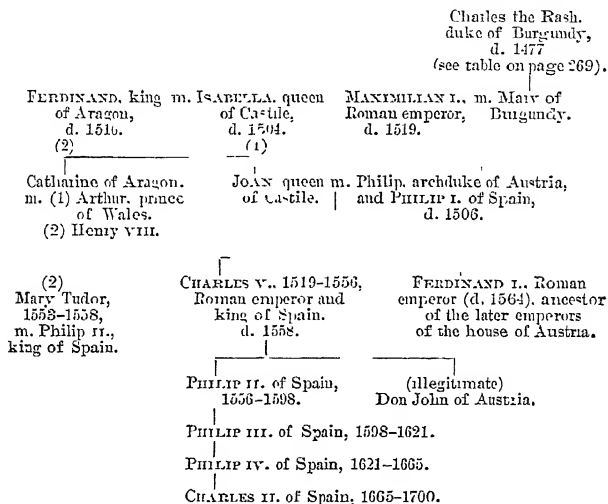
died early in 1515, whereupon his widow speedily married her old lover, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, the personal friend and boon companion of her brother. Francis I., Louis' cousin, became king of France. He was ambitious and warlike, and at once renewed the struggle for Milan, winning in 1515 the great battle of *Marignano*, which restored him to the possession of that duchy, and forcing his enemies to make peace on terms that left Milan under



French rule. In 1516 Ferdinand of Aragon died, and was succeeded by his grandson, Charles of Austria. Charles's mother was Joan, elder daughter and heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella, and his father, the Archduke Philip, was the son and heir of the Emperor Maximilian and of Mary of Burgundy, the only daughter of Charles the Bold. On Ferdinand's death, Charles, who was already lord of the Netherlands, also became king of Spain and Naples and ruler of the great empire which Spanish adventurers were winning by the sword in the newly discovered continent of

America. In 1519 the Emperor Maximilian died also, whereupon Charles succeeded to Austria and the other hereditary dominions of the Hapsburgs.

THE GENEALOGY OF CHARLES V. AND THE HAPSBURG
KINGS OF SPAIN



11. The once great title of Roman emperor had now been borne for several generations by the head of the house of Austria. But every emperor was chosen by the Seven Electors, and some of them were so much afraid of young Charles's power that they hesitated to appoint him to succeed his grandfather. Francis offered himself as a candidate, but after a fierce contest, Charles was preferred. He was henceforth called the Emperor Charles v., though the title did little to increase his real resources. However, the ancient rivalries of the older rulers of France and Spain were at once renewed between these two ambitious sovereigns. For the rest of their lives Francis and Charles contested fiercely for the first place in Europe. All the lesser states of Europe ranged themselves aside with one or the

Rivalry of
Charles V.
and
Francis I.

other, though the more prudent began to feel that the right policy for them was to strive to set up some sort of balance between the two great powers. It was mainly through the long rivalry of Charles and Francis that the doctrine of the *Balance of Power* was accepted as the basis of all European politics. It was thought to be the interest of every state to prevent any of its neighbours growing so strong that it could upset what was called the European Balance. The notion has prevailed more or less ever since, and most of the wars and treaties of the last four centuries have been directed to uphold the political equilibrium between the different states in Europe.

12. Wolsey was strongly influenced by the notion of the political balance, and persuaded Henry that it was his interest to prevent either Francis or Charles having a decided preponderance over the other. Wolsey also strove to maintain peace between the rivals by threatening to throw the weight of England on to the side that began hostilities. For several years this policy succeeded, though it led to endless hollow and insincere intrigues, and made both parties look upon the English with suspicion. Moreover, after the contest for the empire, war became inevitable, so that after all Henry had to take a side. It speaks well for the way in which the reputation of England had revived that both Charles and Francis competed eagerly for her support.

13. In 1520 Henry and Francis held a personal interview on the border between Calais and the French king's territory. Each king showed such magnificence and splendour that the men called the place of their meeting the *Field of the Cloth of Gold*, 1520. Francis and Henry claimed to be like brothers in their affection, and wasted huge sums in giving elaborate entertainments to each other. There was, however, little reality in these solemn declarations, and very soon afterwards Henry held a less ostentatious meeting with Charles v. at Gravelines, and came to an understanding with him. Wolsey still professed to mediate between the rivals, but Henry had definitely gone over to the emperor's side. He still hated the French as England's hereditary enemies, and wished well to Charles v., who ruled over countries bound to England by many ancient ties of friendship, and was himself the nephew of Queen Catharine. Despite the talk about upholding the balance, Henry threw his weight into the scale which soon proved to be the heavier one.

14. Between 1521 and 1529 Charles and Francis were at war

Henry began as an active ally of Charles, and in 1522 and 1523 English armies invaded France from Calais, the second of them being commanded by Henry's brother-in-law, War with Suffolk, the husband of the widowed queen of France. France. But neither expedition inflicted much harm on the 1521-1525. French. As during the war of the Holy League, Henry had the mortification of seeing his enemies defeated by his ally, without being able himself to do anything effective against them. Charles drove Francis out of Italy; and when in 1525 the gallant chivalry of France again crossed the Alps and strove to win back Milan, Charles won a complete victory at *Pavia* and took his rival captive.

15. The overwhelming defeat of the French made the prospect of a fresh English attack on France very hopeful, and for a moment there was talk of invading that country. However, Wolsey had at last managed to make Henry believe in the new theory of the Balance of Power. He urged that Charles's victory was so complete that he seemed likely to be master of all Europe, and that his preponderance might well become dangerous to England if he were allowed to crush France altogether. Accordingly, Henry broke off his friendship with Charles and made peace with France. Francis, who was released from prison in 1526, again strove to win back his position in Italy. He would have been very glad of Henry's direct help, but the English, though professing great sympathy for him, left him to do all his fighting for himself. The little princes of Italy, who like Henry were much afraid of Charles's power, formed a league to help him to drive the emperor from the peninsula. Clement VII., the pope, a nephew of Leo X., put himself at the head of this confederation. But the emperor proved irresistible. In 1527 his troops sacked Rome and took the pope prisoner. All Europe was horrified, but the severe lesson showed the Italians that Charles was their real master. Francis struggled on till 1529, when he made the *peace of Cambrai* with Charles on terms that left the emperor supreme in Italy. Henry and Wolsey had done nothing to prevent Charles's triumph. With all their fine talk about holding the balance between the rivals, they had not ventured to strike a blow to save France from humiliation. Wolsey's diplomacy was as ineffective as Henry's armies. It was useless for England to pose as the mediator of Europe, when it refused to throw its weight on the weaker side. It seemed almost as if the English were conscious that their power counted for so little, and believed that even if it had been turned

The triumph
of Charles,
and the
French
alliance.

against the emperor, it would have been unable to redress the balance.

16. The old nobles envied Henry and Wolsey even their barren triumphs on the continent, and stood aside in sullen isolation, angry that low-born men should have the king's chief confidence, while they, whose ancestors had ruled all England, were quite without real power. The leader of the old houses was Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, son of the Buckingham whom Richard III. put to death. He was a proud, vain, foolish man, who was persuaded by false prophets that Henry would soon die and that he himself would become king, as one of the descendants of Edward III. He talked rashly about the king and the cardinal, and perhaps contemplated a real attack upon them. In 1521 he was suddenly arrested and accused of treason. The lords condemned him to death without much real evidence. But the king said he was guilty, and they were too timid or deferential to go against the king's wishes. He was beheaded as a traitor, and his fate frightened the proudest of the magnates into absolute subservience to the fierce and masterful king.

17. Henry might safely humiliate the nobles so long as the people were on his side. But the cost of his expensive foreign policy and wasteful court revels had long ago exhausted his father's hoards of treasure, and the English king's ordinary revenue was so small that unusual expenses could only be met by fresh taxation. The House of Commons was loyal to the king, and in 1512 granted him all the money he asked for to carry on the French war. But in 1522 and in 1523 Henry made such vast demands upon his subjects that parliament began to grow restive. The English hated nothing so much as taxes, and while willing enough that the king should fight the French showed a strong disinclination to pay the expenses necessarily involved in such a policy. The parliament of 1523 made a much smaller grant than the king had asked for, and only gave this after Wolsey had gone down to the Commons and lectured them on the necessity of supporting the king's government. So serious did their attitude seem that for the six years that remained of Wolsey's ministry the king never summoned another parliament. In 1525, when he thought of fitting out another army, he strove to raise the money by what was called an *Amicable Loan*, in which every one was called upon to lend to the king a sixth part of his income. There was a storm of resistance everywhere. It was said that Henry was

reviving benevolences, which had been abolished under Richard III., and the only answer Wolsey could give was that Richard was a usurper and his laws invalid. A popular rebellion was threatened, and Henry was forced to cancel the loan and take what money his subjects offered freely. The cardinal was regarded as responsible for his master's failure. Already bitterly hated by the nobles, Wolsey was henceforth equally disliked by the common people.

18. New ideas were in the air, and beneath the seeming calm of the times the seeds of far-reaching changes were being sown. It was the time of the *Renaissance*—that is, of the revival or new birth of learning. Men, who in former days had been content to take everything on trust, began to ask questions for themselves, and would believe in nothing that did not seem to them good and reasonable. The remarkable revival of arts and letters which had begun in Italy, gradually spread itself to lands like England, where old-fashioned notions had hitherto prevailed. Printing had now made books cheap and accessible, and scholars studied not only the schoolmen of the Middle Ages, but the classic literature of Greece and Rome. Indeed, a zeal for the study of Greek, a language little known in the Middle Ages, was a chief characteristic of what was called the New Learning. With the revival of antiquity came some sort of revival of the spirit of the ancient world.

The Renaissance.

19. The institutions and ideas of the Middle Ages had brought about much good in their time, but many men had now lost faith in them. The Church had been the greatest institution of the Middle Ages, but the Church had long been in a state of decay. The papacy had ceased to be in any sense the religious centre of Christendom. The popes were still rich, powerful, and prominent, but it was as politicians or as patrons of the new learning, rather than as spiritual guides to the faithful, that they made themselves conspicuous. The chief popes of the time were fierce warriors like Julius II. or clever statesmen and lovers of art and literature like Leo X. The corruption of the head was but a sign of the decay of the members. Gross abuses were common throughout the whole Church, but more harm perhaps was done by the wide spread of indifference and worldliness. The great ecclesiastics had but little of the true spirit of religion. Among the people there was much superstition and ungodliness, and but little real faith and earnestness. The clergy were largely indifferent or hostile to the movements for reform. They thought mainly of preserving their old privileges

State of the Church.

and their own wealth. They were getting quite out of touch with their flocks. Yet, despite the growth of the new spirit, the Church was still outwardly unshaken. It was as rich, as strong, and as proud as ever, and though earnest men denounced its corruptions, there were very few who disbelieved in its doctrines or wanted to change its system.

20. The best minds in all countries were striving to make the new learning as widely spread as possible, and to get rid of the ignorance, superstition, and corruption which stood in the way of all reform. Since the reign of Henry VII., a little band of Oxford scholars had been upholding the new learning in England. Conspicuous among them was John Colet, who, after doing much for the revival of the study of Greek in Oxford, was made dean of St. Paul's in London. There he exercised immense influence by his preaching and life. Early in Henry VIII.'s reign he set up a new school, called *St. Paul's school*, in which boys were to be brought up in the spirit of the new learning. He was a straightforward, high-minded, and deeply religious man, who wished to make the clergy more active and better educated, but who had no desire to alter the doctrines or constitution of the Church.

21. Among those whom Colet's example deeply influenced were the famous foreign man of letters, Erasmus of Rotterdam, who spent many years in England, and the brilliant young English lawyer, Sir Thomas More. Erasmus was an enlightened but timid scholar, who laughed at bigotry and superstition, and did good service for learning by his writings and by his edition of the Greek Testament. But he had little of the sturdy directness of spirit of Colet, and his thoughts were always for the little world of scholars and thinkers rather than for the people at large. More combined with the delicacy and insight of Erasmus some of the vigour and straightforwardness of Colet. It was a great disappointment to his student friends when he gave up the scholar's life to become a lawyer and a statesman. But his knowledge of practical affairs gave him an insight into the roots of the evil that underlay the prosperity of the times, such as no mere scholar could ever possess. In his famous book *Utopia*, written in Latin and published in 1515, he described with great clearness and spirit the evils of the age, and by way of contrast drew an imaginary picture of a perfect commonwealth, called *Utopia*, where everything was ordered for the best. In this ideal state there was none of the selfishness and

greed for gain that he saw in the England around him. Every man had enough and none more than enough. Men could think as they pleased and worship God as they liked. They were interested in reading and improving their minds, and were not allowed to quarrel with each other. Very different from this, thought More, was the state of affairs in England. There the rich became richer and the poor poorer. Men unwilling to work, or for whom no work could be found, swarmed over the country as vagrants, thieves, and murderers. The hard laws that sent all felons to the gallows were useless to remedy this condition of things. The poor had nothing to do but to beg and rob, for grasping landowners had found out that it paid them better to turn their corn lands into pasture. Sheep, More said, were devourers of men, since fewer labourers were wanted to watch the great flocks of sheep that now pastured on lands which of old had been tilled to produce crops of corn. But the Flemish weavers paid a higher price for wool than the farmers could get for corn, and thinking of nothing but their own private gain, the landlords were stripping England of its inhabitants and the poor of their daily bread.

22. Henry VIII. and Wolsey never seriously grasped the need of such reforms as Colet and More described. But they were not untouched by the better spirit of the times, and they sometimes turned half aside from their schemes of selfish statecraft to strive feebly to make things better. More entered into Henry's service, and the king listened to his advice and treated him with great respect. Wolsey formed schemes to reform the Church, and obtained from Leo x., in 1518. a special appointment as papal legate, so that he could control the whole English Church by virtue of his representing the pope, and lord it even over the archbishop of Canterbury. He used his new power to dissolve several small and corrupt monasteries, and with their revenues he set up a great college at Oxford, which he called *Cardinal College*, and a noble school at Ipswich, his birthplace, to supply his Oxford college with well-trained students. It was no new thing for great prelates and nobles to endow richly schools and colleges. But not even William of Wykeham and Henry VI. had designed their foundations on so magnificent a scale as Wolsey. However, he was so busy in other work that he never had time to carry out his plans properly. What he desired was wise and noble. Like Colet and More, he wished to reform the Church from within. He strove to improve education, to make the clergy work harder and avoid gross corruption. But he never set his own life in

order, nor did he even offer to resign the many bishoprics whose revenues enabled him to live like a prince, but whose duties he never troubled himself about discharging. It required more unselfishness, more faith, and more hard work than Henry and Wolsey were able to give, before the abuses of the Church could really be set aright.

23. On the continent, as in England, attempts were made to reform the Church from within. Erasmus, the friend of More and

Colet, inspired those who wished to carry out such schemes, but, as in England, there was too much selfishness and too little earnestness for them to prosper. At last a more rough and ready method was tried with greater success. In 1517 Martin

The begin-
nings of the
Reforma-
tion, 1517-
1529.

Luther, a friar of Wittenberg, in Saxony, stirred up a great agitation against the sale of *indulgences*. These indulgences were remissions of the penance, which those who confessed and repented of their sins had imposed upon them by the authority of the Church. They were openly sold for money, and the sturdy friar became indignant that men should be encouraged to believe

that a mere cash payment would do away with the evil results of sin. He taught that men were not

made righteous by their good works, or formal acts, but by their faith in God, not by what they did, but by what they were. Finding that his teaching was condemned by Leo x., he began to denounce the power of the pope and the authority of the bishops. This was the beginning of the *Reformation*. In a few years Luther led all North Germany to revolt against the papal authority and the system of the Mediæval Church. His coarseness, his violence, his contempt for the past, his revolutionary ideas, frightened cautious reformers like Erasmus and More into becoming lovers of the old ways. But the sturdy zeal of the Saxon friar accomplished the work that his more timid predecessors had failed to carry out, though it was done at the price of breaking up the majestic unity of the Mediæval Church, and with a haste and violence that destroyed what was good as well as what was merely corrupt and decayed. But if the work had to be done, Luther's way was the only practical method of doing it. It was in vain that the young Emperor Charles strove to silence the audacious heretic, and patch up peace with his captive Clement vii. on the basis of an alliance against the reformers. The spirit of Luther spread everywhere. His followers, called after 1529 *Protestants*, could not be put down.

Martin
Luther.

24. Side by side with the Lutheran reformation, Ulrich Zwingle had started a similar movement among the Swiss at the foot of the Alps. And a few years later John Calvin, a Frenchman, began to do in France and French-speaking countries what Luther and Zwingle had done for the Germans. All these leaders of the Reformation broke utterly with the old Church, and set up new Churches of their own, based on principles which they believed to be more like primitive Christianity than the Church of the Middle Ages. As they could not agree with each other, the quarrels between the different schools of reformers complicated the strife of the old and the new faiths. Coming in the wake of many other far-reaching changes, the religious revolution called the Reformation completed the end of the Middle Ages, and ushered in the freer, wider life of modern times. But there was so much unrest, disturbance, and bitterness caused by the conflict of the old and the new, that men began sometimes to sigh for the days before the great changes began.

25. When Luther first began to denounce the pope and the old Church, every one in England was horrified at his boldness. Henry, who was proud of his knowledge of theology, wrote a book in Latin against the reformer, called the *Defence of the Seven Sacraments*, and Leo X. was so pleased with it that he gave Henry the style of *Defender of the Faith*, which curiously enough still remains among the titles of our English sovereigns. There were few Lollards left to welcome Luther as a new Wycliffe. Even the Englishmen who were fond of grumbling about the wealth, privileges, and corruptions of the clergy, had no real quarrel with the Church, and Luther's methods had convinced reformers like More that the old ways were better than his. Gradually, however, some young scholars went over to Germany and became ardent followers of Luther. Chief among these was the strenuous but bitter William Tyndall, who in 1525 published an *English New Testament*, that was eagerly circulated among the few English innovators, though condemned by the Church, which burned all the copies of it that could be found. But Wolsey found no trouble in silencing the majority of the English Protestants, and forced many to give up their new doctrines. For many years they were of no importance whatever. It was not through following in the footsteps of Luther that the English Reformation began, but from the self-will and violence of the king himself.

26. About the time that Henry broke with Charles v., he began to grow tired of his wife, the emperor's aunt. Catharine of Aragon

was five years the senior of her husband, and bad health already made her an old woman. All the children of the marriage were dead except one girl, the Lady Mary. Henry now persuaded himself that the death of Catharine's other children was a proof that God was displeased at his breaking the law of the Church by marrying his brother Arthur's widow. Most Englishmen wished Henry to have a son, who might succeed peacefully to the throne, for there had been no instance of a woman ruling England, and it was feared that trouble might follow if Henry died without a male heir. But the real cause of Henry's scruples was the appearance at court of Anne Boleyn, the lively and attractive daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, a Norfolk gentleman, who was connected with the great house of Howard by his marriage with Anne's mother, a daughter of the duke of Norfolk, who had won the battle of Flodden. With her the selfish king fell violently in love, and her charms made him eager to divorce Catharine, that he might make her his wife.

THE HOWARDS AND BOLEYNs

John Howard, duke of Norfolk,
killed at Bosworth, 1485.

*Sir Geoffrey
Boleyn, mayor
of London.*

Thomas, earl of Surrey,
duke of Norfolk, d. 1514.

Sir W. Boleyn.

Thomas, duke
of Norfolk,
d. 1554.

*Sir Edward
Howard.*

*William, lord
Howard of
Effingham.*

Elizabeth, m. Sir Thomas
Boleyn,
afterwards
earl of
Wiltshire.

Henry, earl
of Surrey,
beheaded 1547.

Catharine Howard,
m. Henry VIII.

Charles, lord
Howard of
Effingham
(Admiral in 1588).

Anne Boleyn,
m. Henry VIII.

Thomas, duke of Norfolk,
beheaded 1572.

Queen Elizabeth.

*Philip, ancestor
of later dukes.*

*Lord Thomas Howard,
Admiral in the Azores, 1591.*

Names in *italics* not mentioned in text.

27. In the Middle Ages a marriage sanctioned by the Church could not be dissolved. What was called a *divorce* meant declaring that a marriage had never been a valid one from the beginning. But the law of marriage was so complicated, and the Church courts were so corrupt, that it was not as a rule hard for a great

prince like Henry to find excuses for such an annulling of what seemed a lawful wedlock. Having resolved to get rid of his wife, Henry applied in 1527 to Clement VII. for a declaration that his marriage was invalid. It was a particularly awkward time to raise this question. Catharine was the emperor's aunt, and Charles V. had recently sacked Rome and had taken the pope prisoner. He was therefore Clement's master, and was not likely to allow him to gratify the king of England, whose desertion of the imperial cause Charles had not yet forgiven. Moreover, in raising the question of a divorce at all, Henry seemed to be following Luther's example of questioning the power of the pope. The ordinary law of the Church declared the marriage unlawful. Nevertheless, Julius II. had issued a *dispensation*, which made an exception from that law in Henry's favour. In asking Clement to disregard that, Henry practically raised the question of whether Julius had power to dispense with the law of the Church in his favour. It is true that Henry tried to avoid that issue by suggesting that there were certain irregularities of form in Julius's dispensation which made it possible for that particular document to be put aside without the general question of right being discussed. But plain men were sure to concern themselves with this problem, so that Clement was not only prevented from falling in with Henry's wish by fear of the emperor, but also by respect for the power of the office which he held. Neither party thought much of the wrongs of Catharine.

28. Clement VII. thought that the best way out of his difficulties was to delay everything as long as he could. He was afraid to grant a divorce, but he did not want to quarrel with Henry, as he hoped that someday Henry and the king of France would release him from his dependence on the emperor. As a middle course, he agreed to appoint what was called a *Decretal Commission*, that is, he empowered a special court to find out whether the form of Julius's dispensation was, as Henry said, an irregular one, it being laid down that, if such were the case, the marriage was invalid. The court was to consist of two papal legates, who were to sit in England. One of them was Wolsey himself, and the other was Cardinal Campeggio, an Italian living at Rome, who had done so much service to Henry that he was allowed, after the evil fashion of the time, to hold the bishopric of Salisbury.

29. It seemed a great triumph for Henry that the decision of his suit should be handed over to two of his dependents. But Campeggio was faithful to Clement, and took care to delay

The origin
of the
divorce
question.

The Decretal
Commission,
1528.

proceedings as much as he could. He wasted a very long time in travelling to England, and it was not until the summer of 1529 that the legatine court was opened in London. But it then seemed as if everything was nearly over. Catharine declared before the legates that she regarded herself as

Henry's lawful wife, and refused to hide herself away in a convent, as had been suggested to her. She appealed to the pope in person, and the best of Englishmen sympathized strongly with her wrongs.

30. Clement grew anxious after he had appointed the commission that took the matter out of his own hands; and the emperor was alarmed lest the legates should give a decision in Henry's favour. Before very long the pope annulled the commission, and ordered the whole business to be

The fall of
Wolsey,
1529.

gone over again at Rome. Henry was moved to violent anger, and made Wolsey the scapegoat of his failure. The cardinal's favour had long been declining. He had done his best to get Henry his divorce, but his desire had been that the king should marry a French princess, who would bind him more closely to the policy of Francis, and he did not like the notion of Henry wedding the giddy Anne Boleyn, who would bring him no strong continental alliance. But Henry's self-will had triumphed over his minister's opposition, though the king now trusted him so little that he kept him in the dark as to much that was going on. He knew that Wolsey was hated by nobles and people alike, and was glad to get a fresh spell of popularity by throwing him over as he had thrown over Empson and Dudley. The new duke of Norfolk, Anne's uncle, hated the cardinal, and Anne herself believed Wolsey was to blame for the failure of the legatine court. All combined to attack the unpopular minister. Wolsey was driven from the chancellorship, and his property seized. His great foundations fell into Henry's hands, and the king made it a merit to refound the Oxford College on a smaller scale under the name of *Christ Church*. Wolsey abjectly yielded to his enemies, and was finally allowed to retire to the north, where he threw himself with strange energy into the hitherto neglected duties of his archbishopric. But he soon began to intrigue for his return to power, whereupon he was arrested and brought back to London, to answer the charge of treason that Henry always brought against a fallen minister. But his health, long weak, broke down under the hardships of a winter journey, and he died at Leicester Abbey in November, 1530, lamenting the instability of the favour of princes. With his fall ends the first part of his master's reign.

CHAPTER III

HENRY VIII. AND THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION (1529-1547)

Chief Dates :

- 1529. Meeting of the Reformation Parliament.
- 1533. Act of Appeals.
- 1534. Act of Supremacy.
- 1535. Execution of Fisher and More.
- 1536. Dissolution of the lesser monasteries ; union of England and Wales.
- 1539. Dissolution of the greater monasteries and Six Articles Statute.
- 1540. Execution of Cromwell.
- 1542. Battle of Solway Moss.
- 1544. Capture of Boulogne.
- 1547. Death of Henry VIII.

1. In the years that followed the disgrace of Wolsey, Henry VIII. still made it his main business to get a divorce from Catharine of Aragon. Wolsey's failure had shown that there was little use in trying to persuade the pope to annul the marriage, and Henry now sought for stronger methods of enforcing his will on Clement. He hoped great things from the alliance with France, which remained as the chief legacy of the fallen cardinal, and imagined that Francis would really give him help in winning over the pope to his side. But Francis was only playing his own game. It was not his interest to quarrel with Rome to please so uncertain an ally as Henry, and he saw that it was useless for him to attempt to drive Charles out of Italy, though it was only by expelling the emperor from the peninsula that Clement could be made a free man. Yet Henry persevered for years in this new policy, while he also strove to appeal from the pope to learned public opinion, by consulting the universities of Europe as to the validity of his marriage. However, the universities gave a divided answer; and in most cases said exactly what the rulers of the country in which they were situated told them, so that Henry got no good from this step.

2. Henry was gradually forced to see that if he obtained his divorce, he must mainly rely upon himself and his own subjects.

Henry VIII. His last and most effective method of bringing pressure on the pope was to show him that England was and his subjects. backing up his request. It was not hard for Henry to force the Church and the people of England to profess themselves in agreement with him. Men were still accustomed to look up to the king and take what he said as true. Henry had plenty of ways of dragging his subjects into obedience, and did not scruple to use them. Convinced that he had a better chance of obtaining his own way if he made a show of consulting his people, Henry made a point for the rest of his reign of getting parliament. and in Church matters convocation, on his side. But it would be very wrong to think that this pretence of consulting the people and the Church meant anything real. Left to themselves, Englishmen would never have entered upon so bold a policy of change as that which Henry's self-will now induced him to undertake. He was already contemplating the withdrawal of English obedience from the papacy if Clement still held out.

3. Soon after Wolsey's fall, parliament and convocation were assembled. Between 1529 and 1536 the same parliament continued

The Reformation to hold its sessions. Before it separated, it had enabled the king to break finally from the Church of the Middle Ages. Fear and self-interest made all men 1529-1536. seek to do the king's will. The chief danger of

opposition came from the Church, but Henry persuaded parliament to pass various laws against ecclesiastical abuses in order to frighten the clergy. Then came a more crushing blow. Henry told the clergy that they had all broken the *Statute of Præmunire* (see page 223) by acknowledging Wolsey as papal legate. What he said was quite true, but the statute of Præmunire had long been neglected, and Henry himself had been as guilty as anybody. However, the clergy were forced humbly to confess their error, and gladly bought their pardon of the king by paying him an enormous

Henry Supreme Head of the Church. fine. Even this was not enough. They were also forced to acknowledge that Henry was the *Supreme Head of the English Church*. It was a vague phrase, which might mean anything or nothing. But Henry showed

from the beginning that he meant to press the title to the uttermost. Before long the *Royal Supremacy*, henceforth the great doctrine of the English Reformation, was found incompatible with the papal supremacy, in which all men had hitherto firmly believed.

4. Having shown himself master of his own clergy, Henry began to pass measures through parliament against the pope's power, hoping thus to frighten him into granting a divorce. But Clement was as unable as ever to do what the king wanted, and the only result of this policy was that the pope's power in England was gradually cut away. The first step towards this was reviving the old laws against the pope, such as the statute of *Præmunire*. New legislation soon followed. In 1532 *Annates*, or *First Fruits*, that is, the payment of the first year's revenue of a new benefice, which the clergy had hitherto made to the pope, were transferred to the crown. In 1533 the *Act of Appeals* was passed, which forbade Englishmen to carry appeals from the English Church courts to the court of the pope. Clement answered by affirming the lawfulness of Catharine's marriage; and dying soon after, his successor, Paul III., threatened Henry with excommunication. Henry replied to these menaces by fresh laws against the papacy. In 1534 the separation from Rome was completed by the *Act of Supremacy*, which made it treason to deny that Henry was supreme head of the English Church.

The
separation
from Rome,
1532-1534.

5. The archbishopric of Canterbury falling vacant, Henry appointed to that great office a Cambridge scholar named Thomas Cranmer. Cranmer was a pious, learned, and well-meaning man, but he was weak and undecided, and soon proved himself a mere creature for carrying out the strong king's will. Despairing of getting a divorce from Rome, Henry now secretly married Anne Boleyn. He forced convocation to declare Catharine's marriage void; and the new archbishop held a court at Dunstable, in which he also solemnly declared the former marriage to be against God's law. As the *Act of Appeals* cut off the Roman jurisdiction, the archbishop's court was now the highest Church court for England. There was no longer any way of taking Catharine's case any further, and thus the great divorce suit was terminated after six years of delay. But the price Henry had paid was the breaking of the tie which had so long bound the English Church to the Churches of Christendom. Nominally, the breach with Rome left the English Church independent. Practically, it became absolutely subject to the fierce will of the king. The separation from Rome brought the Tudor despotism to its highest point.

Cranmer
and the
divorce.

6. England was now as completely separated from Rome as were the Protestant churches of Germany. But Henry still looked with horror on Protestantism, and professed to make no

changes in the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the English Church. He was proud of his *middle way* between the two extremes. He strove to prove his love for the old faith and Protestantism by seeking out and burning to death all the English Protestants on whom he could lay his hands. But whatever the king might profess, the abolition of the papal supremacy was a real revolution. It was not simply a political change, as Henry maintained. It was a religious change as well, when the English nation repudiated the authority to which it had looked up ever since it had become a Christian people. Other changes were sure to follow, and however much Henry might hate Luther, common enmity to Rome was bound sooner or later to bring all reformers together.

7. The great majority of Englishmen passively accepted the king's policy; but there were murmurs against it from the beginning from a few high-minded and clear-sighted men, The resistance to the supremacy. who realized more fully than most the true meaning of the step. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, an aged prelate of great learning and piety, protested from the beginning against the king's action. Sir Thomas More, who had become chancellor after Wolsey's fall, gave up his office and retired into private life rather than acknowledge the royal supremacy. They were not allowed to remain long undisturbed. Before the end of 1533 a daughter, named Elizabeth, was born to Henry and Anne. As Catharine's child Mary was cut off from the succession when the marriage of her mother with Henry had been declared invalid, it was thought necessary to pass in 1534 an *Act of Succession*, settling the crown on the little Lady Elizabeth and any other children there might be of the marriage of Henry and Anne. Moreover, a new *Treasons Act* was hurried through parliament, which made it treason to deny to the king any of his royal titles. It was not easy for those who gainsaid the king's policy to escape the consequences of these laws.

8. More and Fisher were called before Archbishop Cranmer and asked to take the oath of succession, drawn up under the recent act. They said that they would willingly accept Anne Boleyn's children as future rulers of England, since an act of parliament was competent to alter the succession to the throne. But more than this was demanded of them. They were required to declare Anne Boleyn Henry's lawful wife, and to renounce the authority of the pope. These two things they declared they could not do with a good conscience.

9. Other men of less position followed or anticipated their example. Conspicuous among these latter were many of the monks of the London Charterhouse, one of the best ordered of all the English monasteries. Among other opponents of the supremacy was Reginald Pole, a young churchman, then studying in Italy, who, as the grandson of George, duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV., stood near to the throne (see table on page 294). Pole gave up his prospects of high preferment in England rather than renounce his faith. Appointed cardinal in 1536, he remained in exile, constantly protesting against Henry's doings.

The Charterhouse monks and Reginald Pole.

10. Henry shut up in prison all opponents of the supremacy within his reach, and had no difficulty in procuring their condemnation as traitors. In 1535 the victims of his policy suffered on the scaffold. The obscure monks of the Charterhouse were among the first to die. Fisher's fate was soon settled by the rash kindness of the new pope, Paul III., who made him a cardinal. After this, Henry at once ordered him to be put to death. A few days later Sir Thomas More was also executed. The sacrifice of men so famous brought home to every one the relentless policy of Henry. The king had trampled on all opposition, and was more master of England than ever.

More and Fisher executed, 1535.

11. Henry now resolved to work out to the uttermost the doctrine of the royal supremacy. He created a new minister, called the king's *vicar-general in matters ecclesiastical*, and appointed to it one of Wolsey's former servants. This was Thomas Cromwell, the son of a fuller at Putney. In early life Cromwell had been driven from England for his bad conduct, and had wandered about Italy and the Netherlands, at one time serving as a soldier, but finally taking to trade, and thriving so well in it, that he came back home a wealthy and prosperous man. Wolsey took him into his service, and he was employed in suppressing the monasteries, from whose funds the cardinal hoped to endow his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich. After Wolsey's fall, Cromwell behaved with such discretion that he was regarded by the cardinal's friends as showing remarkable fidelity to his disgraced master, while he was at the same time craftily winning the king's favour. Very soon Henry took him into his service, and at once found in him just the man that he wanted. Cromwell was a strong, able, and far-seeing man, who had neither doubts or scruples, but devoted all his cunning and resource to carrying out the caprices

Cromwell vicar-general.

All through the fifteenth century there had been plenty of liberal foundations, but the new establishments were colleges, schools, and houses of "secular" priests. Sometimes, as Wolsey's case showed, it was thought a wise thing to abolish monasteries in order to procure the money to build such new colleges. The old fervour of devotion that had ennobled the ancient abbeys had become so rare a thing, that the heroic self-sacrifice which had led the monks of the London Charterhouse to become willing martyrs for their faith, stood in marked contrast to the timidity and selfishness of the majority of the monasteries. The greater houses were often the abodes of formalism and dull respectability. In some houses there was gross corruption; and this seems especially to have been the case in the smaller houses, which often were so poor that they could neither pay their way nor live according to their rule. Most men looked upon the monks with indifference. Few were anxious to enter the monastic life. Though the orders were too timid to oppose actively the royal supremacy, they were the least national part of the Church, being bound closely to their foreign brethren, and being at all times good friends of the papacy. Thus their principles excited suspicion, while their helplessness made them easy victims, and their wealth excited the greed of the rapacious king and his minister.

13. In 1535 Cromwell sent royal commissioners throughout the country to inquire into the state of the monasteries. The commissioners worked actively and unscrupulously to get up a case against the monks, and reported to their master that corruption and immorality were very widespread among them. In 1536 parliament was induced by their evidence to pass an Act abolishing all monasteries that had a revenue of less than £200 a year. Their goods were seized by the king; and the ordinary Englishman found out for the first time that the old religion of the country was being undermined, when hundreds of ancient houses of religion were ruthlessly broken up, their inmates scattered, their churches profaned, and their lands squandered among greedy courtiers.

14. The north of England was the part of the country least affected by the new ways. There the monks were still doing good service, and were still beloved and popular. The sturdy north-country men broke into open revolt, to show their detestation of the policy that led to the suppression of the smaller monasteries. The first riots were in Lincolnshire, but the most formidable was in Yorkshire, where a great body of rebels gathered together at Doncaster under Robert

The suppression of the smaller monasteries, 1536.

The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536.

Aske. The revolt was called the *Pilgrimage of Grace*, because the rebels resolved to march to London on pilgrimage to the king, hoping to persuade him to set back the Church in its old glory, to drive away upstarts like Cromwell from his councils, and to put the old nobles back in their natural places as his advisers. The duke of Norfolk, sent by the king to put down the revolt, persuaded the pilgrims to go home peaceably, and announced that the king would redress their grievances. This broke the back of the rebellion, but next year Henry made new riots a pretext for violating his promise, and for hunting down and putting to death the leaders of the rising. To prevent such revolts in the future, he set up at York a new court, called the *Council of the North*, which soon made the wild regions beyond the Humber as peaceable and as dependent on his will as the richer and tamer south country.

15. The monasteries spared in 1536 soon met their fate. Cromwell's commissioners strove hard to persuade the different abbeys to surrender their property to the king; when bribes and entreaties were of no use, threats and violence were unscrupulously employed. Some of the houses held out heroically, but Henry found it easy to trump up some charge against their inmates. For example, he accused the abbot of Glastonbury of stealing the plate of the abbey, and hanged him on a high hill overlooking the whole countryside, as a warning of the fate of those who resisted the king. In three years nearly every abbey had submitted to the royal will, and in 1539 a new act was passed which finally gave the king all the abbey lands. There was much talk of employing the vast sums thus confiscated to the king for public purposes, such as for founding new bishoprics, reorganizing the navy, and defending our coasts against invasion. But about half of the abbey estates were squandered by the king on his friends and courtiers, or sold to speculators at low prices. Thus the fall of the monasteries had a great effect on the lives of the people. They not only lost their old houses of prayer, and were shocked by the king's carelessness of their most sacred beliefs; they saw their easy-going old landlords replaced by new men who, having paid for their lands, strove to get as high a rent as they could; and knowing and caring nothing for their tenants, took little interest in their welfare. The doles which the monks had scattered among the poor ceased, as did the kindly spirit they had often shown to their dependents. But the king gained what the people lost. The spoils of the monasteries enabled his courtiers to become the founders of a new

The suppression of the greater monasteries, 1536-1539.

nobility devoted to the king, from whom their prosperity came, and eager to help him in his schemes. The House of Lords became, by the fall of the mitred abbots, an assembly with a strong lay majority, and more dependent on the king's will and less representative of the Church. A mere trifle was kept for the Church, out of which six new bishoprics were set up at Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, Peterborough, Westminster, and Oxford (see map on page 342). A few abbey churches were kept as the cathedrals of these new sees or to replace the chapters of the old sees that had hitherto been served by monks. A larger proportion of the spoil was spent on other public purposes, and in particular in building ships of war, erecting fortifications on the coast, and casting strong cannon to equip them.

16. Other religious changes attended the suppression of the greater monasteries: images and relics were destroyed, the shrines of English saints broken up, and some of the old Church holidays were abolished. Cranmer and Cromwell began to look upon the German Protestants as their allies, and persuaded the king to give bishoprics to lovers of new ways. The best of these Hugh Latimer, who was made bishop of Worcester, had been the friend of some of the Protestant martyrs burned a few years earlier. It was another great change when Henry allowed English Bibles to be printed and circulated, and before long ordered that every parish church should possess a copy of an edition called the *Great Bible* which was issued by Cranmer himself. These versions all showed the influence of Tyndall's earlier work. Yet at the same time that Henry allowed them to circulate, he encouraged Charles v. to seek out Tyndall in the Netherlands and execute him for heresy. Though the king was drifting towards Protestantism, Protestants were still hunted down and punished. While they were burned to death as heretics, the king still laid violent hands on all friends of the pope who denied the Royal Supremacy, and ruthlessly butchered them as traitors.

The English Bible and the growth of reforming opinions.

17. The king's rule was becoming a bloody tyranny. Nothing stood in the way of his reckless will and his fierce desires. He soon grew tired of the giddy and foolish Anne Boleyn. He was disappointed that no son had been born to them, and was irritated by her unseemly dealings with the courtiers. Moreover, he fell in love with a pretty lady about the court named Jane Seymour, and Anne now stood across his path much as the unhappy Catharine of Aragon had once been in

The king and his wives.

the way of Anne herself. In 1533 Anne was accused of adultery, tried before a court presided over by her own uncle, and, though protesting her innocence, hurried to the scaffold. The very next day Henry married Jane Seymour. In 1537 Queen Jane gave him the long-hoped-for male heir, but she herself died soon after. Queen Catharine had died before Queen Anne, so that the little Edward, prince of Wales, was the undoubted heir of his father. The Lady Elizabeth, Queen Anne's daughter, was now pushed aside like the Lady Mary. Before her mother's death, Crommer had pronounced the marriage invalid, so that Elizabeth and Mary alike were regarded as illegitimate. Queen Jane's brothers, the Seymours, remained high in Henry's favour, and generally supported Cromwell and Crommer in their forward religious policy.

18. The reckless changes brought about in religion excited wide and increasing discontent. None now ventured on open rebellion, for even signs of disagreement with the king's policy invariably led to condemnation as a traitor. In 1538 Henry Courtenay, marquis of Exeter, a grandson of Edward IV. and the king's first cousin (see table on page 284), was executed on a charge of conspiracy which was in no way legally proved. At the same time, the brother and some of the kinsfolk of Cardinal Pole suffered a like fate. In 1541, Pole's mother, Margaret, countess of Salisbury, also perished on the scaffold. There was no evidence that the aged lady had committed treason. But it was enough that she was a daughter of the duke of Clarence and the mother of Cardinal Pole, who had long been doing his best to excite the Continent against Henry.

19. The Tudor despotism was now at its height. The parliament of 1539, which abolished the greater monasteries, passed a statute that gave the king's proclamations the force of law, and thus practically surrendered to Henry the parliamentary right of making new laws. But Henry, with all his self-will, was quick to perceive the signs of the times, and perhaps he had now grown tired of change, or was fearful of the consequences of further innovations. He induced the same parliament to pass the *Six Articles Statute*, which showed very clearly that England had still no sympathy with the doctrines of the German Protestants. This law affirmed strongly the chief doctrines of the Mediæval Church. By its first clause, all who disbelieved in the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, or the change of the bread and wine of the Eucharist into the substance of Christ's natural Body and Blood, were liable to be burned as heretics. In

the other articles, the celibacy of the clergy, the need of auricular (or private) confession to the priest, and the sufficiency for the laity of receiving the bread without the wine in the Holy Communion, were strongly affirmed. The Protestants, who had hoped for everything, gave way to despair when Henry had knotted this "whip with six strings," as they called it. The prisons were filled with them. Latimer gave up his bishopric; Cranmer, who had secretly married, sent his wife home to Germany. The reforming period of the reign was at an end.

20. Cromwell saw that his influence was on the wane, and made a desperate effort to win back the favour of his master. Henry had had little to do with foreign politics for many years. Charles and Francis alike stood aloof from him, and more than once talked of ending their jealousies by joining together to bring back England to the old faith. Henry had therefore reason to fear invasion, and had little hope of support from his old allies. Cromwell proposed that he should set off against the anger of Charles the friendship of the North German princes, who were mostly Protestants and all jealous of the emperor. Since Jane Seymour's death, Henry had remained a widower. Cromwell now proposed that he should marry Anne, sister of the duke of Cleves, a mighty prince on the Lower Rhine, who, though not a professed Lutheran, was inclined to favour the Protestants. This marriage, Cromwell believed, would bind Henry closely to the German princes, and give him powerful helpers against the emperor. The king rose eagerly to the proposal, and the marriage was agreed upon. But when Anne of Cleves came to England, the king found her dull, plain, and ignorant of any language that he knew. He accordingly turned against her from the first, and easily persuaded Cranmer to declare the marriage void on some frivolous pretext. At the same time, the North German princes would have nothing to say to his proposals of an alliance. The wrath of Henry, madened by this double failure, fell on Cromwell with more crushing force than ever on Wolsey. Norfolk, as before, eagerly took advantage of the chance of ruining the upstart. Cromwell was arrested on a charge of treason and heresy. Parliament passed, without a murmur, an act of attainder. In 1540 the last strong minister of the reign lost his head on Tower Hill. On the very day of Cromwell's execution, Henry married for the fifth time. His new wife was Catharine Howard, Norfolk's niece.

Anne of
Cleves and
the fall of
Cromwell,
1540.

21. The fall of Cromwell stopped almost entirely the progress

of the Reformation. Historians have called the years between 1540 and 1547 the *reactionary period* of Henry's reign, because the king, tired of the colossal changes which Cromwell and Cranmer had brought about, went back to his former love of ancient ways, and broke decisively with the new opinions toward which he had long been drifting. Norfolk, the queen's uncle, was now the chief lay noble in the king's council. Along with Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, Norfolk headed the *men of the old learning*, who, though accepting the royal supremacy and the abolition of the monasteries, steadily set their faces against all further change. The *men of the new learning*, best represented by the timid Cranmer and by the king's brothers-in-law, the Seymours, were allowed to remain in the council, but were watched and suspected and excluded from all real power. One of the signs of the times was the passing of a curious law, forbidding any but gentlemen to read the Bible in English. Another was the increased number of Protestants who were burned at the stake as heretics.

22. Foreign policy, like ecclesiastical policy, went back on its old lines. Scotland had long given Henry a great deal of trouble. His sister Margaret, who ruled for a time after War with Scotland. Flodden, soon fell from power, and her son, James v., as 1542-1545. he grew up to manhood, was gradually brought round to the French alliance that was ever popular beyond the Border. James also became as great a friend of the pope as he was of King Francis, and in both capacities gave his uncle much trouble. But James, though a brilliant and popular king, lost the love of his own nobles, who refused to fight for him. Accordingly, in 1542, the English gained an easy victory at *Solway Moss*. James, who was already broken in health, died soon after the battle, leaving the throne to his baby daughter Mary, henceforth known as Mary Queen of Scots. But the weak government of an infant queen gave Henry his opportunity. His brother-in-law, Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, won a cheap reputation as a soldier by plundering and devastating the Lowlands. Henry professed now to wish for peace, and proposed to marry his son Edward to the little queen. But he took a strange way of winning his object, and Hertford's cruelties made the Scots look to France more than ever.

23. Henry was soon involved in war with France as well as Scotland. This led him to patch up his old quarrel with Charles v., and, in 1544, Henry and Charles agreed upon a joint invasion of

France. But Charles threw Henry over, and made a separate peace, leaving Henry to fight single-handed against both the French and the Scots. In the course of the struggle Henry captured Boulogne. This so annoyed the French that they prepared a great fleet and army to invade England. However, this proved a failure, and after fruitless attempts to effect a landing for their army, the French were forced to retreat to their own harbours. Before the end of the reign, they were glad to make a peace which left Boulogne to Henry.

24. The foreign war exhausted Henry's treasury. He had long ago squandered the lands of the monks, and was now so poor that he tried to set his finances straight by mixing copper with the silver which was coined into money at the royal mint. But this debasing of the coinage did him little good, as every one began to demand higher prices for their goods, now that the shilling contained less than half silver and the rest base metal. In his need for money, Henry again turned greedy eyes on ecclesiastical property, and strove to make his policy of robbery more respectable by professing once more a great desire to purify and reform the Church. In 1543 parliament gave him power to dissolve the *chantries*, foundations where priests offered masses for the repose of the souls of the dead, and those *colleges*, or corporations of clergy, which, not being monasteries, had escaped the clutches of Cromwell.

25. Norfolk and his friends now steadily lost influence. In 1542 Norfolk's niece, Queen Catharine, was executed, like her cousin Anne, on a charge of adultery, that was proved more clearly than most of the crimes which Henry attributed to those who stood in his way. Henry now married his sixth and last wife, Catharine Parr, a bright young widow, who stood aside from politics, and showed such prudence that she managed to outlive her husband. Her brother was strongly on the reforming side, and joined with the Seymours and Cranmer in fresh efforts to oust the Howards and their friends from power.

26. Henry's health was now breaking up, and it was clear that he would not live much longer. The two parties into which the council was divided contended fiercely for supremacy, and the suspicious old tyrant inclined more and more to the reformers. The imprudence of the Howards hastened on their downfall. Norfolk himself was bad-tempered, haughty, and incompetent. His eldest son, the earl of

War with
France,
1544.

The new
wave of
reformation,
1545-1547.

Catharine
Howard
and
Catharine
Parr.

The fall
of the
Howards,
1547.

Surrey, was a gallant young nobleman of great accomplishments, and famous as a versifier and the reformer of English poetry. But he was as overbearing as his father, and rashly provoked the old king's anger by assuming arms that had once belonged to the crown. He was accused of aiming at the throne, thrown into prison, condemned as a traitor, and beheaded early in 1547. His father was included in the same accusation, and was also sentenced to death. He was only saved by Henry's dying before the time fixed for his execution.

27. The reign of Henry VIII. saw important changes in the relations of England with the other parts of the British Islands.

Like Edward I., Henry wished to be lord of the whole of Britain and Ireland. His greediness and impatience prevented him from doing anything to end the hostility between England and Scotland. But both in Ireland and Wales he was able to accomplish something considerable towards effecting his purpose. When he came to the throne, he found Ireland was practically independent and ruled by the Norman feudal lords of the centre and south, and by the native clan chieftains of the wilder north and west. The Fitzgeralds, earls of Kildare, were the most powerful of the Norman families, and it was only by making them viceroys that Henry was able to keep even a semblance of authority in the English pale. But at last the Fitzgeralds grew too insolent for the king to be able to endure them. In 1535 they rose in revolt, and Henry managed to break down their power. In the years that followed, he bribed the Irish lords by English titles and by dividing among them the lands of the Irish monasteries. This led them to accept, at least in name, the extension to Ireland of the doctrine of the Royal Supremacy. In recognition of his increased authority, Henry gave up the simple title of Lord of Ireland, borne by all kings since Henry II. Instead of this he called himself *King of Ireland*, a name that indicated a more direct and complete sway. But his policy only started that new conquest of Ireland which his great daughter completed.

28. Henry's efforts had more complete success in Wales. He set up a *Council of Wales* at Ludlow, which secured good peace in the Principality and in the March alike. There was no longer any need to keep up this twofold distinction, since the king had now become direct ruler of most of the Marcher lordships through the dying out of the old feudal houses that once bore sway over them. A king, sprung

Union of
England
and Wales,
1536.

from Welsh ancestors, saw it was both a good and a popular thing to put an end to the humiliating dependence of Wales on England, that had lasted since the conquest of Edward I. Accordingly, in 1536, Henry divided all Wales into thirteen counties and incorporated the whole with England. The Welsh shires now sent members to the English parliament, and had the same system of laws as England. The county palatine of Chester was also included in this legislation, and for the first time now became represented at Westminster.

CHAPTER IV

EDWARD VI. (1547-1553)

Chief Dates:

- 1547. Accession of Edward VI. ; Battle of Pinkie.
- 1549. The first Prayer-book ; and the Devonshire and Norfolk revolts.
- 1552. Second Prayer-book ; Execution of Somerset.
- 1553. Death of Edward VI.

1. HENRY VIII.'s only son, who now became Edward VI., was a sickly boy of ten, and much too young to rule on his own behalf.

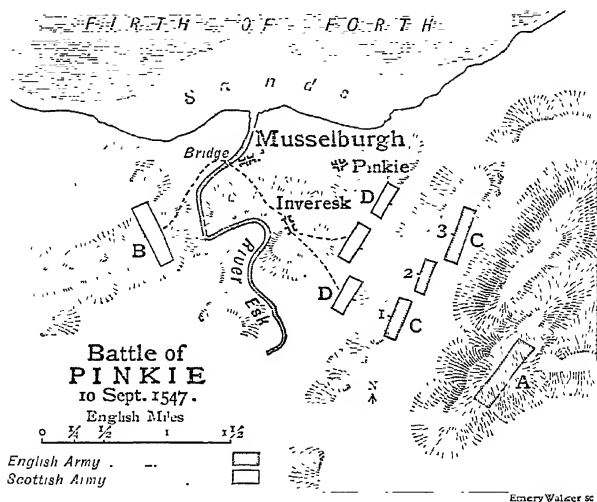
Somerset becomes Protector, 1547. The old king, foreseeing a long minority, had drawn up a scheme for a carefully balanced *council of regency*, in which the old and the new learning should be so equally represented that things would not be

likely to be altered until his son became a man and could decide for himself. The triumph of the new learning over the old learning just before Henry's death had, however, given such a strong position to the reformers that they were no longer content to bide their time. Anxious for the immediate possession of office, the reformers upset all Henry's plans, and made their leader Hertford, duke of Somerset and *Lord Protector*, with almost royal power, and with a council on which the reformers had the complete mastery.

2. As the little king's nearest kinsman, Somerset seemed the most natural guardian of his nephew's throne. He had won his character and policy. popularity by reason of his gracious manners, sympathy for the poor, and skill as a soldier. Though he did not scruple to enrich himself with Church property, he was more kindly and honest than most of the statesmen of his day. His chief objects as a ruler were to carry to completion the reforming movement that had already begun in the last years of Henry VIII.'s reign, and to continue as well as he could the old king's foreign policy. But Somerset was not strong enough to accomplish this double task. Weak, obstinate, and unpractical, he never realized the necessity of doing one thing at the time. Within three years he had failed so utterly that he was driven from power in disgrace.

3. Henry VIII. had made peace with the French and Scots before his death, and common prudence should have induced Somerset to keep on good terms with both countries. Two circumstances, however, strongly impelled the Protector to take up a strong line as regards Scotland. One was that the regency, which ruled Scotland in the name of the little queen Mary, had persecuted the Scottish Protestants with such vigour that they had risen in revolt against the government, and, being overpowered, had appealed to England for

The invasion of Scotland, 1547.



assistance. The other was that Somerset was anxious to carry out Henry VIII.'s policy of uniting the two realms by the marriage of Edward with the queen of Scots. Somerset was so eager in helping the Scottish Protestants that he did not see that he could not combine this course of action with the peaceful negotiations with the regency for the marriage of Edward and Mary. Before long his want of tact again involved the two countries in a war.

which long postponed both the Scottish Reformation and the reconciliation of the two British kingdoms. In September, 1547, Somerset invaded the Lothians, and on September 10 fought a battle against the Scots who had assembled an army to defend

Edinburgh. Somerset held the high land on the right bank of the Esk, while the Scots, posted on rising ground on the left bank, waited for his attack.

After two days' inaction the Scots grew weary, and, crossing the Esk, advanced against the English position. The battle was fought near the village of *Pinkie*. At first the Scottish pikemen withstood and broke the shock of Lord Grey's cavalry, who rode down the hill to meet them. But the presence of mind of John Dudley, earl of Warwick, saved the situation. He charged the victorious Scots with fresh troops, and soon put them into confusion. Complete victory attended the English arms, but the first use Somerset made of it was to desolate all south-eastern Scotland with fire and sword. His military triumph counted

for little as compared with the complete political failure which attended it. The Scots, angry at the invasion, saved their queen from the danger of becoming the bride of the English king, by despatching her to France, where she was educated to be a Frenchwoman, a Catholic, and a bitter enemy of England. For another ten years Scotland remained Catholic because the Reformation was identified with England.

4. France, as usual, took up the Scottish cause, and continental war soon followed war within Britain. The French now threatened Boulogne, Henry VIII.'s conquest, but the English garrison just held its own. Desultory war continued until after Somerset's fall, when peace was made both with France and Scotland on terms that undid the work of Henry VIII. By it Boulogne was restored to the French.

5. At home Somerset threw his chief energy into bringing about a further reformation of the Church. Cranmer, his chief adviser, had by this time drifted far away from Henry VIII.'s *Progress of the Reformation via media*, and had become a disciple of the German Lutherans. Royal visitors of the Church were sent throughout the land and instructed to break down images of saints, stone altars, and emblems that savoured of the ancient faith. Bishops of the old learning, like Bonner and Gardiner, struggled in vain against the visitors, and, before long, were imprisoned and deprived of all power. A new standard of doctrine

was set forth in a *Book of Homilies*, written in English, which the more ignorant clergy, who could not preach sermons of their own, were instructed to read to their flocks as the official teaching of the Church. Soon parliament met, and by repealing the Six Articles statute and other laws of Henry VIII., made further changes easier. Priests were allowed to marry, and fresh confiscations of Church property were ordered. Such colleges and chantries as Henry VIII. had not time to suppress were abolished, and most of the money thus procured from the Church was squandered among Somerset's friends and councillors. The protector himself did not scruple to appropriate a good share of the spoil. A few hospitals and schools in connection with suppressed churches were suffered to remain, and Edward VI. has won the reputation, which is very little deserved, of being a liberal founder of hospitals and schools. He deserves little more credit for giving his name to such old schools as he allowed to survive the general ruin, than Henry VIII. merited by continuing Wolsey's college at Oxford as a foundation of his own.

6. The most important of the religious changes now brought about was the abolition of the Latin services of the Church and the setting up of an English Prayer-book. Under Henry VIII. some progress had been made in that direction, and Cranmer had been engaged since 1543 in drafting a form of common prayer in English. His labours culminated in the *Act of Uniformity* of 1549, which enjoined that all churches should henceforward use the English services contained in the *First Prayer-book of Edward VI.* This was a very careful and reverent translation of the mediæval Latin services into the vulgar tongue, with certain omissions and alterations and the combination of the numerous short forms of the older worship into the order for Morning and Evening Prayer. Cranmer, at his worst when his weakness made him the puppet of contending politicians, was at his best when engaged in this work. Though he had lost his faith in much of the ancient creed, his timid, scholarly, and sensitive mind clung to the old forms even when they had ceased to have their old meaning to him, while his exquisite literary sense made the new prayers models of pure and dignified English. In the Communion Service which was to replace the Latin mass, great care was taken to maintain ancient ceremonies and deal tenderly with conservative sentiment.

7. Englishmen were no lovers of novelties, and the pains bestowed on making the new service seem like the old were

The First
Prayer-
book of
Edward VI.,
1549.

thrown away on those who still cherished the ancient rites. When the Prayer-book was first read in a Devonshire village church, the congregation forced the priest to go back to his Latin mass, declaring that the new service was like a Christmas game. Then they rose in revolt after the fashion of the Pilgrims of Grace. They demanded the restoration of the mass and the Six Articles, and found the south-west overwhelmingly on their side

8. The Devonshire revolt against the Prayer-book was only one of Somerset's difficulties. He was much troubled by opposition

Execution of Thomas Seymour, 1549.

within the council, where he was soon found out to be too weak to play the part which Henry VIII. himself had found was all that he could do to fulfil. His own brother, Thomas Seymour, now Lord Seymour of

Sudeley, an ambitious, rash, and foolish person, had intrigued against him, and early in 1549 the protector found it necessary to put him to death by an act of attainder. But the discontent among the people was even more formidable to him than the cabals of his rivals. While the conservative south-west was in arms against novelties, the reformers in the eastern counties, who had no com-

The Norfolk rebellion of 1549.

plaints against Somerset's religious policy, set up another rebellion which had its centre round Norwich.

The enclosure of commons, the turning of plough-land into pasture, and the greediness of the new landlords who had taken the place of the easy-going monastic proprietors, had borne hardly upon the Norfolk peasantry. Things were worse now than they had been thirty-five years before when More wrote his *Utopia*, and the new gospel had done nothing to better the position of the poor man. A quarrel between Robert Ket, lord of the manor of Wymondham, and a neighbouring landlord now set the whole countryside in a blaze. Before long Ket put himself at the head of a mob which pulled down fences round enclosures, and demanded that all villeins should be set free. An army soon collected under the popular leader, who held a sort of court under an oak tree called by him the *Oak of Reformation* on Mousehold Heath, near Norwich. He kept wonderful order among his followers and sent up moderate demands to the council. Getting no answer, he took possession of Norwich, and defeated the king's troops.

9. Somerset was eager to put down the Devonshire rebels, but he sympathized with the Norfolk men, though he was too weak to remedy their wrongs. Both revolts soon rose to a great head, and the protector was helpless to put them down. Public order

had to be restored, and stronger men now pushed him aside. John Russell, afterwards earl of Bedford, crushed the Devonshire revolt, while Warwick put down the eastern rebellion with fierce ruthlessness. A little later the council deprived Somerset of the protectorate, and imprisoned him in the Tower. So impotent did the fallen ruler seem that his enemies, with unusual leniency, soon released him from prison, and restored him to the council.

10. Henceforth the council resolved to keep authority in its own hands. But if it were hard for Somerset to wield the power of a Henry, it was quite impossible for the greedy and self-seeking councillors to maintain that strong rule which alone could save the state from confusion. Gradually John Dudley, the earl of Warwick, son of the minister of Henry VII., executed in 1510, worked his way into the first place. A successful soldier of overweening ambition, he professed a great zeal for reforming the Church, and made himself the head of the resolute little party which looked upon the changes effected by Somerset as only small instalments of that complete reformation which they now desired to bring about. The misfortunes of continental Protestantism now played into their hands. Luther and Francis I. were both dead, and Charles V., who was trying hard to put down the German Reformation, seemed on the very point of success. A swarm of exiles fled from his tyranny to England, whose leaders, Martin Bucer of Strassburg and Peter Martyr an Italian, were made professors of theology at Oxford and Cambridge. They became the chief teachers of the forward school in England, and soon had plenty of disciples. Cranmer himself was now drifting away from Luther, and was inclining towards the more revolutionary teaching of the Swiss reformer Zwingli, who denied the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist. His chaplain, the learned Nicholas Ridley, an avowed Zwinglian, was made bishop of London in succession to Bonner, who was at last deprived of his see for resisting the Prayer-book, and kept, like Gardiner, in prison for the rest of the reign. Another new bishop was John Hooper of Gloucester, the first English Puritan, who long refused to wear the old episcopal vestments, regarding them as rags of popery. All these men looked up to Warwick to bring about innovations in the Church, and Warwick gladly furthered their wishes, since each fresh change meant new distributions of Church property among himself and his allies.

Fall of
Somerset,
1549.

The
ascendency
of Warwick,
1549-1553.

The
influence
of the
foreign
reformers.

THE DUDLEYS

Edmund Dudley,
extortioner,
executed 1510.

John Dudley,
earl of Warwick, 1547.
duke of Northumberland, 1551,
executed 1553.

Ambrose Dudley,
earl of Warwick.

Robert Dudley,
earl of Leicester,
d. 1588.

Guildford Dudley,
m. Lady Jane Grey,
executed 1554.

11. The scramble for Church property soon grew worse and worse. Many bishoprics were suppressed, including Henry VIII.'s new see of Westminster, and the revenues of those suffered to remain were cut down. Laymen appointed themselves to ecclesiastical offices, and pocketed the revenues without performing the duties. The colleges at Oxford and Cambridge were threatened, and it looked as if all the lands of the Church would be filched from her.

12. There was much discontent, but few ventured to speak. The best and bravest of the Protestants, Hugh Latimer, said that things were worse than in the old days of popery. Execution of Somerset, Deprived of his bishopric of Worcester in 1549, he refused to accept another see, and devoted himself to preaching the new gospel with absolute honesty and rare freedom of speech. The young king gladly listened to his sermons, but he told the truth so fully that the council bade him preach no more before the court. In their despair the people turned to the fallen Somerset as a deliverer. But he was far too deeply discredited to be able to stem the tide. His feeble efforts to win back power only led to the completion of his ruin. Early in 1552 he was beheaded as a felon, and Warwick, now duke of Northumberland, secured complete ascendancy. He alone had the ear of the young king, and could carry everything as he would.

13. Sweeping religious changes were now brought about. The Prayer-book of 1549 seemed to be too old-fashioned; it was revised in a more Protestant sense, and in 1552 a new *Act of Uniformity* required the use in churches of this *Second Prayer-book of Edward VI.* The changes in the Communion Office showed the great advance of Zwinglian doctrine, and tended to set aside the dogma of the Real Presence which had been fully recognized in the earlier

book. But Cranmer was still able to keep up no small measure of the spirit of the earlier office, and of all the reforms of Edward's reign, his Prayer-book is among the most enduring and valuable. In most essentials the book of 1552 is the same as the present service-book of the English Church.

14. Other great changes followed. The most important of these was the new Protestant form of doctrine embodied in the *Forty-two Articles of Religion* of 1553. Derived largely from the Lutheran confession of faith, these articles show much more than the Prayer-book how the English Church had fallen in with the views of the continental reformers. They are the basis of the *Thirty-nine Articles*, which under Elizabeth became the permanent standards of dogma in the English Church.

The
Forty-two
Articles,
1553.

15. All seemed going well with Northumberland and the reformers. Edward, now sixteen years of age, was strongly on their side, and, young as he was, had already made it clear that he had inherited some of the strong will and royal imperiousness of his father. A grave, precocious, and solitary boy, he had been overworked from his tenderest years, and had worried himself over problems of Church and State when other children were at their play. His delicate frame was unable to bear the strain put upon it, and he soon lay dying with consumption. He was much troubled by the dangers that he foresaw would assail Protestantism after his death. By law the next heir was his half-sister, the Lady Mary, the daughter of Catharine of Aragon. Though Mary had been, like her sister Elizabeth, declared illegitimate after her mother's divorce, she had been restored to her place in the succession. Parliament, foreseeing disaster if the succession were disputed, had passed an act empowering Henry VIII. to settle the future devolution of the crown by his testament. Henry had drawn up such a will whereby he had arranged that his two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, might both succeed in order of birth if Edward, the undoubted heir, died without children. Moreover, he provided that if these also died without heirs, the throne should next be settled upon the descendants of his younger sister Mary, duchess of Suffolk, passing thus over his elder sister Margaret, queen of Scots, whose representatives, being rulers of Scotland, Henry regarded as disqualified from being kings of England. But these problems were as yet far in the future.

The failure
of Edward
VI.'s health.

The testa-
ment of
Henry VIII.

16. Edward VI.'s zealous Protestantism was very uneasy at the

prospect of being succeeded by his sister. Mary was a bitter enemy of the Reformation, and had clung to the mass despite Acts of Uniformity and English Prayer-books. Under her the light of the Gospel would be extinguished, and Edward's device for the succession. was accordingly well pleased when Northumberland suggested an illegal plan for changing the succession in the interests of Protestantism. Northumberland easily persuaded the masterful young king that, like his father, he also could assign the throne by testament. He induced him to set aside not only Mary, but Elizabeth, who had not shown hostility to the new system. In their stead, Edward bequeathed the throne to the Lady Jane Grey, the eldest child of Frances, duchess of Suffolk, the daughter of his aunt, Mary Tudor, and Charles Brandon, her second husband. Lady Jane was a girl of about Edward's age, with something of her cousin's seriousness, and all his zeal for the Reformation. But the chief reason for her advancement was that she had been married to Lord Guildford Dudley, one of Northumberland's sons. It is clear that the real motive of the duke was to reign through his daughter-in-law.

17. Edward had hardly drawn up his will before he became worse, and died on July 6, 1553. For two days his death was kept secret, while Northumberland won over the councillors and Queen Jane and Queen Mary, 1553. to give their support to the scheme. Then Lady Jane was proclaimed queen of England. But no one, save the zealous Protestants and Northumberland's greedy council, wished to have her as queen. All felt that Mary had the better title, and no one wished to continue the selfish Northumberland in power. Mary fled to the eastern counties, where the people, Protestants though they were, warmly supported her cause. Northumberland started from London to oppose her, but when he reached Cambridge his troops mutinied, and he was forced to give up the attempt. After a ten days' nominal reign, the unfortunate Lady Jane gave place to King Henry's daughter, amidst universal rejoicings.

CHAPTER V

MARY (1553-1558)

Chief Dates :

- 1553. Accession of Mary.
- 1554. Restoration of papal supremacy.
- 1555. Execution of Ridley and Latimer.
- 1556. Execution of Cranmer.
- 1558. Loss of Calais; death of Mary.

1. MARY, the first queen regnant in England, was thirty-seven years old when she ascended the throne. She was brave, honourable, and religious, but her health was broken and her temper soured by the miserable life of self-suppression which she had led. She had her full share of the fierce Tudor will and character, and had ever remained true to her mother's memory and to the ancient faith. She had consistently opposed the acts of her brother's ministers, and her accession was the more welcome since it involved the reversal of their policy.

2. Mary's first business was to undo the religious changes of her brother's reign. Norfolk, Gardiner, Bonner, and the other victims of Edward's ministers, were released from prison, and became her chief advisers. She showed no great vindictiveness against the friends of Lady Jane, and only Northumberland, with two of his subordinate agents, atoned for their treason on the scaffold. Lady Jane and her husband were condemned to death, but were suffered to remain in prison. The Protestant bishops were driven from their sees, and foreign Protestants were ordered out of the realm. As Cranmer and the leading Protestants had become accomplices of Northumberland, it was easy to attack them as traitors as well as heretics. When parliament met, it declared Mary to be Henry's legitimate daughter, repealed Edward VI.'s acts concerning religion, and restored the Six Articles, the mass, and the celibacy of the clergy.

The effect of this was to bring back the Church to the state in which it had been at the death of Henry VIII. So completely did the queen restore her father's legislation that she even assumed the title of Supreme Head of the Church. For more than a year no further religious changes were effected. Yet the daughter of Catharine of Aragon had not much more love for the system of her father than for that of her brother. Her real wish was to make England as it had been before Henry questioned her mother's marriage. Politically, she wished to restore the imperial alliance, ecclesiastically, she was eager to bring back the pope and the monks. But Gardiner and her ministers had been so long identified with Henry VIII's policy that they thought the reaction had gone far enough. It required all the fierce persistency of the new queen to realize these objects.

3. Parliament wished the queen to marry an English nobleman. But Charles v., who had always been her good friend, proposed to her as a husband his eldest son, Philip, prince of Spain. Mary eagerly fell in with the suggestion, though 1554.

Philip was eleven years her junior, and there was a grave danger to English independence in the queen becoming the wife of the heir of Charles v. But Philip represented her mother's family, and was already famous for his uncompromising zeal for the Roman Catholic Church. Thinking that her marriage with him would realize all her ambitions by one stroke, she disregarded the advice of council and parliament, and signed the marriage-treaty in January, 1554. The people's dislike of the Spanish marriage took shape in a series of revolts such as always attended an unpopular step on the part of a Tudor monarch. The most formidable of these was that led by Sir Thomas Wyatt, the gallant young son of Wyatt the poet, who raised Kent and Sussex against the Spanish match. At the head of a great following of disorderly Kentishmen, he marched to London, and occupied Southwark. There was a panic in the city, which was only appeased when the queen went down to the Guildhall and inspired the Londoners with some of her own courage. Before long, Wyatt was overpowered and captured. This second rising was dealt with more sternly than the attempt of Northumberland. Wyatt and other leading rebels were executed, and Lady Jane and Lord Guildford Dudley were put to death under their former sentence. The Lady Elizabeth, whose claims the rebels had upheld, was for a time imprisoned in the Tower. But Wyatt on the scaffold declared that she had no knowledge of the conspiracy, and Elizabeth was soon set free. Henceforward the

daughter of Anne Boleyn scrupulously kept on good terms with her sister, and attended mass with a great show of devotion. Now that the revolt was suppressed, Philip came to England, and was married to Mary by Gardiner in Winchester Cathedral.

4. Mary strove her utmost to bring about a reconciliation between England and the papacy. Though Gardiner had first made his name by defending the royal supremacy under Henry VIII., his experience under Edward VI. seems to have convinced him that his old master's "middle way" led in practice to the Protestantism which he had always opposed. He was, therefore, willing to fall in with his mistress' plans. The chief opposition to Mary came from the lay nobles who had been enriched with the spoils of the monasteries. Knowing that the queen wished to bring back the monks as well as the pope, they trembled for their new estates, and refused to accept a papal restoration until they were assured that the abbey-lands would not be given back to the Church. When the pope had promised not to insist upon the restoration of the monasteries, all difficulties were removed. A new parliament, which met in November, 1554, repealed Henry VIII.'s laws against Rome, declared unlawful the title of Supreme Head of the Church which Mary had borne since her accession, and restored the old laws against heresy. One of the acts of this parliament was the reversal of the attainder which in Henry VIII.'s time had been passed against Cardinal Pole. Pole, now one of the leading advisers of the pope, had some time before been appointed papal legate, but had long been impatiently waiting beyond the Channel until matters were ripe for his return. He was at last suffered to land in England, where Mary gave him the warmest of welcomes. A few days later, he solemnly pronounced the restoration of England to communion with the Roman Church. Thus the resolute purpose of the queen destroyed the work of her father as well as that of her brother. It is significant that there was no such popular revolt against the restoration of the papacy as there had been against the Spanish marriage.

The restoration of the papal supremacy, 1554.

5. There remained the punishment of those who refused to change their religion to please the queen. Many of the Protestant leaders under Edward VI. had escaped to the Continent. But the most prominent of the Edwardian bishops were awaiting in prison the moment of the queen's vengeance. The revival of the heresy laws by the last parliament enabled them to be dealt with. Early in 1555 Pole as

The Marian persecution, 1555-1558.

legate set up a commission to try heretics, and on February 2, John Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, who had taken a prominent part in translating the Bible into English, was the first to lay down his life for his faith. His martyrdom was rapidly followed by that of the Puritan Bishop Hooper of Gloucester. Alone among the Protestant leaders, Hooper had refused to take part in Northumberland's effort to deprive Mary of her throne, but his loyalty availed him nothing. He was condemned as a heretic, deprived of his bishopric, and burnt at Gloucester under the shadow of his own cathedral. A little later Bishop Ferrar of St. David's was burnt at Carmarthen, the chief town of his diocese. He was one of the most obscure and harmless of the bishops, but this did not prevent his being singled out as an example.

6. More prominent Protestant martyrs followed in Latimer, Ridley and Cranmer. Like Hooper, Latimer had had no share in Northumberland's treason, and was so generally respected that he was long allowed to remain at large, and every chance was given him to escape to the continent. But he scorned to flee, and cheerfully journeyed to London to answer a charge of heresy. Ridley and Cranmer had been deeply implicated in Northumberland's conspiracy, but the queen preferred to keep them in prison until they might be punished as heretics rather than execute them earlier as traitors. In March, 1553, all three were sent to Oxford to dispute with Catholic divines on the doctrine of the mass. After many disputations and delays, a commission of bishops on October 1 sentenced Ridley and Latimer. A fortnight later they met their end with splendid courage.

7. Cranmer still lingered for five months in his Oxford prison. He had been consecrated before the breach with Rome, and had duly received his *pallium* from the pope. He could not, therefore, be condemned so swiftly as the schismatic bishops whose power the Church had never recognized.

The fate of Cranmer, 1556. An archbishop could only be tried and deprived by the pope himself, and the papal court moved slowly. At last his condemnation and degradation were effected, whereupon the pope appointed Pole his successor as archbishop. In February, 1556, Cranmer's priestly gown was torn from him, and, clad as a layman, he was handed over to the sheriff for execution. He was an old man, and his character had always been feeble. At the last moment he was persuaded to recant, and his cruel enemies forced him to sign no less than seven forms of abjuration. But there was no mercy for the man who

had divorced Catharine of Aragon, and, despite his submission, he was ordered to execution. On March 21. before the sentence was effected, he was taken to the university church to hear a sermon on the enormity of his offences. At its end he was called upon to read his recantation to the people. The timid scholar found his courage in the presence of death. "I renounce," he said, "and refuse all such papers as I have written and signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue, and as my hand offended, my hand therefore shall be first burnt." He was at once hurried from the church to the stake. When the fire was lighted, he plunged his right hand into the flame, exclaiming. "This hand has offended" The courage of his end did something to redeem the weakness of his life.

8. The five episcopal victims were the most conspicuous of the Marian martyrs. Though nearly three hundred other persons perished for their religion between 1555 and 1558, the great majority of them were obscure clergymen, tradesmen, and workmen. Nearly all the martyrs came from London and its neighbourhood. This was partly because Bonner, who was again bishop of London, and Pole, whose diocese included most of Kent, were the most active of the persecuting prelates. But the truth was that outside the home counties there were few Protestants to burn. The only other dioceses where victims were numerous were those of Norwich and Chichester (see map on page 342). Thus the limitation of the persecution to so short a time and so small an area made it the more severe. Sympathy with the brave deaths of the sufferers did more to set up a Protestant party in England than all the laws of King Edward or all the preaching of his divines.

9. The fierce persecution of the Protestants has given Mary and her advisers an evil reputation in history which they do not altogether deserve. In the sixteenth century, as in the Middle Ages, it was still thought the business of the state to uphold religious truth and to put down false teaching by the severest means. To tolerate error was regarded as a sin, and it was looked upon as something like rebellion for a subject to reject the religion of his sovereign. Protestant and Catholic kings alike had sent those who disagreed with their doctrines to the scaffold. We have seen how many were the victims of Henry VIII.'s ecclesiastical policy. Edward VI. had burnt the extreme Protestants called *Anabaptists*,

The lesser victims of persecution.

The want of toleration in the sixteenth century.

and Calvin himself had condemned to death the Unitarian Servetus. The faults of Mary and Pole were those of fanatics and enthusiasts, and not those of cruel or unscrupulous persons. Even Bonner was coarse and callous rather than vindictive or ill-natured. The real punishment of Mary and her friends was in their complete failure to stamp out their enemies by force. Fortunately for his reputation, Gardiner died in 1555, at the very beginning of the persecution.

10. It was not only by repression that Mary strove to secure the triumph of her Church. She forced her parliament to restore firstfruits to the pope, and spent what money she could in reviving a few of the monasteries, including Westminster Abbey. Grave troubles at home and abroad soon distracted her energies into other channels. She had disputes with her House of Commons, which, for the first time under the Tudors, showed a disposition to oppose the government. There were several popular revolts, and some of the bolder Protestant refugees procured ships from France with which they practised piracy on the English coasts. The queen's health became wretched, and her domestic life was most unhappy. Pole was her only real friend, and Philip of Spain neglected her utterly until he wished to secure her help in the war which he was waging against France.

11. Between 1552 and 1559 the last of the great struggles between France and the Empire was being fought. Henry II., king of France since his father Francis's death in 1547, proved himself as formidable to Charles and Philip as ever his father had been. After successfully saving the German Protestants from Charles's designs against them, Henry allied himself with Pope Paul IV. to upset imperial domination in Italy. He succeeded so far that Charles v., crippled with gout and weary with his misfortunes, abdicated his dominions in 1556. His German possessions and the name of emperor went to his brother Ferdinand, king of Hungary and Bohemia, who became the founder of the junior or Austrian branch of the house of Hapsburg. Spain and the Indies, Italy, the Netherlands, and the county of Burgundy went to Mary's husband.

12. Philip II. of Spain made a great effort to secure victory over France. In 1557 he persuaded Mary to take part in the struggle, and broke the back of the French resistance by his famous victory of *St. Quentin*. He restored the Hapsburg power in

Italy by crushing Paul IV. as completely as his father had defeated Clement VII. Henceforth the papacy was reduced, like the other Italian states, to obey the will of Philip, who completely dominated Italy. Deprived of temporal power, the popes were thrown back upon their ecclesiastical position, in the strengthening of which they could count on Philip's support. It was, however, a strange irony that Mary was forced by her Catholic husband to be a party to war against the pope, whom she had restored to the headship of the English Church. Beaten on the battlefield, Paul IV. revenged his defeat by accusing Cardinal Pole of heresy and depriving him of his position as papal legate. The French also revenged themselves for Philip's triumphs at St. Quentin at the expense of his weak ally. In January, 1558, they stormed Calais, the last remnant of the triumphs of the Hundred Years' War. The loss of Calais was the final blow to the unhappy Mary. She died November 17, 1558, and twelve hours later Cardinal Pole followed her to the tomb. Both died conscious of failure. The work to which they had devoted their lives was forthwith to be undone after their decease.

England at
war with
France,
1557-1559.

Death of
Mary, 1558.

CHAPTER VI

ELIZABETH AND MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS (1558-1587)

Chief Dates :

- 1558. Accession of Elizabeth.
- 1559. Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity.
- 1561. Mary Stewart returns to Scotland.
- 1565. Parker's *Advertisements*.
- 1568. Mary Stewart escapes to England.
- 1569. Revolt of the Northern Catholics.
- 1570. The pope excommunicates Elizabeth.
- 1572. The revolt of the Dutch from Spain.
- 1576. Grndal, archbishop of Canterbury.
- 1577-1580. Drake's voyage round the world.
- 1579. The Union of Utrecht and the Desmond rebellion.
- 1583. Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury.
- 1584. The Bond of Association and the breach with Spain.
- 1586. Babington's plot and the battle of Zutphen.
- 1587. Execution of Mary Stewart.

1. ELIZABETH was just five and twenty when she became queen. She was tall and good-looking, with strong features, a great hooked nose, fair complexion, and light auburn hair. Possessed of a magnificent constitution, she worked as hard at amusing herself as on business of state. She inherited many of her father's kingly qualities, and made herself popular by her hearty friendly ways and by going on progress throughout the country and receiving the hospitality of the gentry. With Henry's love of power and instinct for command, she also inherited some of her father's coarseness and insensibility. She was unscrupulous, regardless of the truth, and even in small matters there was little that was womanly or sensitive about her. Selfish as she was, she had a full share of that fine Tudor instinct which identified itself with the country which she ruled, and she watched over the interests of England as she looked after her own personal affairs. Though carefully educated, like all Henry's children, she was little influenced by the literary movements of her age, and, though forced as Anne Boleyn's daughter to take

up the reforming side in religion, she was to a very small extent affected by religious feeling. Clear-headed, far-seeing, and competent, strong, courageous, and persistent, her great delight was in exercising power, and she loved to rule so well that she would not share her authority even with a husband. To her father's strength and statecraft Elizabeth also added a large share of her mother's light and frivolous character. She was extremely vain, and enjoyed the grossest flattery. She loved gorgeous dresses, and as she grew old delighted to hide the ravages of time by false hair, paint, monstrous ruffs, and stiff farthingales. She found it hard to make up her mind in little matters, and found it politic seldom to show her full purpose in great ones. But she showed a rare consistency of purpose in carrying out for the forty-five years of her reign the same general policy which she had marked out for herself at the moment of her accession. Amidst the many trials of a period of revolution, she safely steered the ship of state through the breakers, and was able to enjoy during her declining years the calms that succeeded the storms of her middle life. Never a very attractive or amiable woman, she was one of the greatest of our rulers, and in the worst trials of her reign she did not lose faith either in England or in herself.

2 Like Henry VIII., Elizabeth was her own chief minister, but few rulers have had more able statesmen to assist her in carrying out her ideas. To these she gave with such persistence that her servants grew old in her service, and were unswervingly loyal to her, though she was niggardly in rewarding them, and callous in the extreme when policy made it expedient for her to shift the blame of an unpopular or risky act from herself to her helpers. The chief of her advisers was Sir William Cecil, who, first as secretary of state and then as treasurer, served her with unostentatious fidelity from her accession to his death in 1598, though his efforts to make her policy more Protestant and more uncompromising were constantly discouraged by her, and he received no higher reward than the barony of Burghley, which made him, as he said, "the poorest lord in England." With him worked his brother-in-law, Sir Nicholas Bacon, the keeper of the Great Seal, whose long service was not even rewarded by the title of chancellor. Office was almost hereditary, and Sir Robert Cecil, Burghley's second son, was as prominent as the secretary of the queen's declining years as his father had been in the earlier part of her reign, while the lord

The queen's
ministers.

The Cecils
and the
Bacon.

keeper's brilliant and ambitious son, Sir Francis Bacon, was bitterly disappointed that his cousin's jealousy excluded him from following in the same way in his father's footsteps. Perhaps the ablest of Elizabeth's advisers was Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state from 1573 to 1590, whose sincere but unscrupulous devotion to his mistress's interests enabled him to worm out the secrets of her enemies and confound the plotters who were constantly striving to deprive her of her life and throne.

3. Beside the plain and hard-working statesmen was the crowd of worthless courtiers, who amused the queen's leisure and glorified her beauty and wisdom. It was only in favour of these giddy pleasure-seekers that she broke through her general rule of parsimony, by lavishing grants and titles upon them. The chief among them was her old playfellow, Lord Robert Dudley, the younger son of the duke of Northumberland, whom she loved for old association's sake as well as for his good looks, fine dress, and skill as a courtier. She made him earl of Leicester, and would have married him but for her resolve to live and rule alone. Down to his death in 1588 she never lost her devotion to him, and spoilt some of her boldest enterprises by entrusting them to his incompetent direction.

4. The first task that lay before the queen was the settlement of the Church. She had seen how both Edward VI. and Mary had failed in their ecclesiastical policy because each had, though in different ways, taken up too extreme a line. She had unbounded faith in her father, and experience clearly brought home to her the excellence of the middle way that Henry VIII. had pursued. Great difficulties, however, beset her on both sides. The Protestant exiles hurried back to England and clamoured for a reformation even more thorough-going than that of Edward VI. But the ministers and bishops of Mary were still in power, and the Catholic party was strongly backed up from abroad. Moreover, since Gardiner and Bonner abandoned the system of Henry VIII., there were few prominent men left who believed in his particular policy. Elizabeth was forced, therefore, to ally herself with the Protestants in order to defeat the Catholics, and their support could only be gained by reverting mainly to the system of Edward VI. Finding convocation opposed to all change, she fell back on parliament, where, in January, 1559, she carried through new Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, despite the opposition of the bishops.

5. The *Act of Supremacy* of 1559 followed the general lines of Henry VIII.'s Act of 1534, and completely renounced all papal jurisdiction over England. But Elizabeth cautiously dropped the title of Supreme Head of the Church, and was content to be described as "the only *supreme Governor* of this realm, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal." After this fashion the queen sought to prevent men thinking that she, like her father, claimed to exercise spiritual jurisdiction over the Church, as though she were its chief bishop. The new *Act of Uniformity* showed the same spirit of compromise. Roughly speaking, it restored the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI. as the future service-book of the English Church. Several significant changes were, however, made in it. The Communion Office was so drawn up that both the Zwinglian doctrine of the Eucharist and the opposing doctrine of the Real Presence might seem to be allowed, while the famous *Ornaments Rubric* was added, ordering that all ornaments of the Church should be retained as they were in the second year of Edward VI.

The Acts of
Supremacy
and
Uniformity,
1559.

6. So careful was Elizabeth to avoid committing herself that it was not until 1563 that she allowed a new statement of doctrine to be drawn up. This was contained in the *Thirty-nine Articles*, based on the Forty-two Articles of 1553, but these articles had been carefully revised with the view of making them less offensive to the friends of the old faith. Such were the main outlines of the Elizabethan settlement of the Church. Though clothed for the most part in the forms of Edward VI., it was inspired by the spirit of Henry VIII. rather than that of Somerset or Northumberland. Its defects were that it was a settlement of a politician rather than that of an ecclesiastic, and, that while hated by the Roman Catholics, it was only accepted as a first instalment of change by the thorough-going Protestants.

The
Thirty-nine
Articles,
1563.

7. Elizabeth had made up her mind that no further alterations should be made, and having fixed the form of her Church, she now strove to enforce obedience to it. Only one of the Marian bishops would accept her policy, and all the rest were deprived of their sees. The majority, including Bishop Bonner, spent the rest of their lives in prison. In their place, Elizabeth appointed as many bishops of her own way of thinking as she could find. She was especially lucky in procuring a man after her own heart as Pole's successor at Canterbury. This

Archbishop
Parker,
1559-1575.

was Matthew Parker, a wise and learned man, who, when deprived of his deanery of Lincoln under Mary, had preferred to live quietly in England rather than escape to the continent with the advanced reformers. Like Elizabeth, he looked on things from a purely English standpoint, and, after the queen, was the only prominent upholder of her middle way. In 1559 Elizabeth set up a permanent *Court of Ecclesiastical Commission*, called also the *High Commission Court*, of which Parker was the chief commissioner. Its object was to exercise the royal supremacy over the Church, and enforce the Elizabethan settlement on all the clergy.

8. Elizabeth insisted that all her subjects should accept her creed and attend her Church, and gradually imposed fines and other penalties on those who refused to do so. The Elizabeth and the friends of the pope who could not in conscience be Roman present at Protestant services, were branded as *Popish Catholics*. *Recusants*, and their lot constantly became harder.

At first, however, Elizabeth and Parker did not experience much trouble from the Roman Catholics. Most of the parish clergy accepted the new settlement, though many were so disloyal to it that it was gradually found necessary to deprive a large number of their benefices. The majority of the friends of old ways were, however, too sluggish and inert to oppose the government effectively. The real trouble was not with the passive resistance of the old-fashioned clergy as much as with the unwillingness of the more ardent Protestants to accept the Elizabethan compromise.

9. The leaders of the disaffected Protestants were the returned Marian exiles. Many of these had, during their banishment, become the disciples of the great French Protestant Geneva and the John Calvin, who, up to his death in 1564, reigned Calvinists. like a despot over Church and state in the free city of Geneva, the chief stronghold of advanced Protestantism on the continent. There they had become enthusiasts for the rigid dogmatic system called *Calvinism*, which taught that God was a stern taskmaster, dealing out salvation and reprobation in accordance with His predestined decrees. The Church of Geneva had, moreover, abandoned the rule of bishops, and was governed by little councils of ministers, all equal in rank, and named *presbyters*, so that this system was called *Presbyterianism*. Moreover, it rejected fixed forms of prayer like those of the English service-books, and worshipped God with the utmost simplicity of ritual, while enforcing a rigid system of moral discipline over the whole congregation. From their profession of purity in doctrine,

worship, and life, the English followers of Calvin were generally described as *Puritans*.

10. To Calvin's followers in England, Elizabeth's Church seemed far removed from the apostolic purity of the Church of Geneva. If at first they supported it, in the hope that Elizabeth, like Edward VI., would soon bring about more changes, they became very discontented when they found that the queen had set her face against further innovations. They had no love of bishops, disliked set forms of prayer and elaborate ceremonies, and thought the special dress worn by the English clergy a relic of Roman Catholic times. Many of the Puritan clergy obstinately refused to wear surplices when conducting divine worship, and neglected such forms as the use of the sign of the cross in baptism and kneeling to receive the communion. Their opposition was the more important since they included the majority of the active and high-minded Protestants, and it was only with their help that Elizabeth could fight the battle against Rome. For this reason the queen was forced for the first few years of her reign to let them have their own way. As she grew stronger, she resolved to enforce the law. The repression of Puritanism began in 1565, when the archbishop issued a series of directions to the clergy, called *Parker's Advertisements*, which ordered that the minister in all churches should wear a surplice, and conform to the other directions of the Prayer-book. Though the advertisements rather relaxed than changed the law, a storm of protest from the Puritans burst out against them. Nevertheless, Elizabeth and Parker persevered, and in 1566 about thirty clergymen, mainly in London, were deprived of their benefices for their obstinate refusal to wear the vestments enjoined by law. Embittered by the queen's action, the Puritans soon broadened the ground of their attack on the Church. Not content with simply rejecting ceremonies, they denounced the government of the Church by bishops, and demanded that the English Church should be made Presbyterian like the Church of Geneva. The leader of this party was Thomas Cartwright, a professor of divinity at Cambridge, and a book called *An Admonition to Parliament*, written by two of his friends, explained his objections to the Prayer-book and episcopacy.

The
Puritans
and the
Elizabethan
settlement.

The Adver-
tisements,
1565.

11. Some of the clergy ejected for refusing to wear surplices were not content to abandon their teaching, and formed separate congregations of their own. These were called *Sectaries*, because

they formed new sects, or *Separatists*, because they separated from the Church altogether. One of their leaders was Robert Brown, who taught that there should be no national organization of religion, but that each congregation was a self-governing Christian Church. From him the Separatists were called *Brownists*, and from his teaching they got the name of *Independents*. They were the first *Protestant Dissenters* in England, though for a long time they were few in number and bitterly persecuted. The mass of Puritans had, however, no sympathy with the Separatists. They remained in the Church, and many of them held livings in it. Though always liable to be deprived of their benefices, many contrived to evade compliance with the hated ceremonies. For this reason they were called *Nonconformists*. But these early Nonconformists were discontented and disobedient Churchmen, not Dissenters. Separatists denounced them as "hypocrites, who strain at a gnat and swallow a camel."

12. Parker died in 1575, and the new archbishop, Edmund Grindal, was much more friendly to the Puritans. After a few years he provoked the queen's wrath by refusing to put down meetings of the Puritan clergy called *Prophesyings*, which Elizabeth disliked, because they encouraged the Zealots to resist her authority. In great anger, she suspended Grindal from his office, and soon afterwards he died in disgrace. In 1583 Elizabeth put into Grindal's post John Whitgift, an old enemy of Cartwright at Cambridge and a bitter enemy of the Puritans, though, like most of the Elizabethan bishops, he was a Calvinist in theology. Whitgift's strenuous enforcement of conformity infuriated the Puritans, and increased the number of Separatists, who revenged themselves for their persecution by attacking the bishops in scurrilous pamphlets, called the *Martin Marprelate Tracts*. Though the attitude of Puritans and Separatists showed that Elizabeth's ideal of a united and submissive Protestant Church was but a dream, the latter years of her reign saw a distinct strengthening of the Church and a weakening of extreme Puritanism. The close of the century was marked by the rise of a school of divines, whose teaching tended to draw a deeper line between the Church and the Puritans. The greatest of these was Richard Hooker, whose famous book on the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, published in 1593, showed that beautiful and seemingly practices sanctioned by tradition were not to be rejected

Archbishops
Grindal,
1576, and
Whitgift,
1583.

Hooker's
"Ecclesiasti-
cal Polity,"
1593.

because not enjoined in the Scriptures. Before long others went further than Hooker, and taught that a Church without bishops, such as the Puritans preferred, was no Church at all. Thus the system which had begun as a politic compromise began to have defenders on grounds higher than expediency. Yet the Puritans remained a strong party in the Church, though it became increasingly difficult for them and their rivals to live side by side within the same communion.

13. The period which saw Calvinism checked and limited in England witnessed the establishment of its absolute ascendancy in Scotland. For ten years after her daughter had been sent to France, Mary of Guise had upheld a French John Knox. and Catholic policy in Scotland as successfully as Mary Tudor had upheld the Spanish and Catholic policy in England. The few pioneers of Scottish Protestantism were driven into exile. Among these was a priest named John Knox, whose fiery eloquence had made him a popular preacher of extreme Protestantism in England under Edward VI., though his stern Puritan principles led him to refuse the bishopric which was offered to him. On Edward VI's death he fled to Geneva, and strengthened his Puritanism at the feet of Calvin. When Elizabeth became queen he wished to return to England, but she would not admit him because he had written a wild book called *The Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, in which he denounced the rule of queens as contrary to the Scriptures. Thereupon Knox boldly returned to Scotland, where, despite Mary of Guise's efforts, Protestantism was beginning to make some headway. A league of Scots nobles, called the *Lords of the Congregation*, had been recently formed against the regent and the bishops. Knox now threw all his masterful energy and unconquerable will on the reforming side. A fierce fight between Mary of Guise and the lords of the congregation ensued. Though the people were strongly Protestant, the regent obtained troops from France, and pressed the rebels so hard that they were forced to appeal to Elizabeth for help.

14. Elizabeth hated rebels and John Knox, but she saw the obvious advantage in winning over the Scots from France and the papacy, and, while professing not to approve of the Scottish revolt, she sent, in 1560, sufficient forces to Reformation Scotland to besiege the French in Leith. Mary of Guise now died, and before long the defenders of Leith signed the *treaty of Edinburgh*, by which both the English and French troops were to quit Scotland. As soon as foreign influence was

removed, the Scottish Parliament abolished the power of the pope and accepted Knox's scheme for making the Church of Scotland correspond in all important points with the Church of Geneva. Popular tumults completed the destruction of the old Scottish Church. Churches and monasteries were burnt and pillaged, the mass violently suppressed, and the lands of the Church were seized by the victorious nobles. The only thing that Knox could not do was to persuade the Protestant lords to set aside a large share of Church property for the relief of the poor and the setting up of a school in every parish. The barons even grudged the scanty endowments left to the Protestant ministers. But however poor they were, Knox and his brother clergy henceforth exercised wonderful power over Scotland. The chief council of the Presbyterian Church, called the *General Assembly*, had more influence and better expressed the wishes of the people than the Scottish parliament. From the adoption of Presbyterianism the modern history of Scotland begins, for in welcoming the new faith the Scots nation first began to grow conscious of itself. Never were movements more strongly contrasted than the short, swift, logical, destructive Reformation in Scotland and the political, compromising, half-hearted English Reformation, imposed on a doubtful and hesitating people by the authority of the crown. But the movements had this in common, that in making Rome the common danger to both countries, it brought England and Scotland together in a fashion that had never been possible since Edward I.'s attacks on Scottish independence. Soon the old hostility began to abate between English and Scots, so that what had seemed to Henry VIII. a quite impossible thing—the acceptance by England of the king of Scots as their ruler—was peacefully accomplished after Elizabeth's death.

15. While Scotland thus became Presbyterian, her queen was growing up to womanhood as a Catholic and a Frenchwoman. Beautiful, accomplished, tactful, and fascinating, she had rare capacity for commanding the sympathy and affection of those who were brought into close relations with her. Different as she was from Elizabeth, there were yet as many points of comparison as of contrast between them. More straightforward and simple than her English rival, loving boldness, directness, and plain speaking, she rose superior to the petty vanities of Elizabeth, though she could not compete with her in persistency, hard work, and statecraft. Ambition and love of power were the guiding motives of both queens, though Mary was

Mary Queen
of Scots.

liable to be turned from her purpose by gusts of passion to which the colder nature of Elizabeth was almost a stranger. Both were born to be leaders of religious parties, and Mary, though almost as destitute of deep religious feeling as her rival, had the loyalty to the old Church which a good soldier has to his general, and strove with all her might to uphold its interests. It was her misfortune always to be the champion of the losing side, and thus to sacrifice her life in fighting impossible battles. In the cause of her Church and people she struggled with extraordinary courage and resource, and often with but little regard to honour or principle. She was no national queen like Elizabeth. When she came to Scotland her people were already hopelessly alienated from her creed and her French friends, and she was perforce compelled to play a more personal game than that of her rival. Yet the long struggle between them was not only the contest of rival queens: it involved the last great struggle between the old and the new faiths of which circumstances had made them the champions.

16. Even more than the preceding generation the age of Elizabeth is pre-eminently a period of religious conflict. Though Lutheranism had lost its early energy, Calvinism was still in its full career of conquest. It had overwhelmed Scotland and threatened England. It was making great strides in France, and becoming increasingly powerful in the Netherlands. But side by side with the growth of Calvinism the forces of Catholicism had revived. The laxity and corruption of the old Church, which had made easy the preaching of Luther, were swept aside by a great religious revival in Catholic lands, called the *Counter-Reformation*, or the *Catholic Reaction*. The papacy had reformed itself, and the popes were no longer politicians or patrons of art, but zealots and religious leaders. New religious orders had been set up to teach the old faith to the heathen, the heretic or the indifferent. Conspicuous among these was the *Order of Jesus*, set up in 1540 by the Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola, and already conspicuous all over Europe for its zeal, tact, and devotion, its iron discipline, its influence on the education of the youth, and its willingness to sacrifice everything to further the service of the Church. Jesuit missionaries soon became the most ardent and successful champions of the Counter-Reformation, while for those whom no argument would reach there was still the *Inquisition*, revived and reorganized, a Church court which sought out and tried heretics and handed them over to the state to burn them. The worst abuses of the Church had been

removed, its faith defined, and its discipline improved by the *Council of Trent*, which held its final sessions in 1563. Thus the reform of Catholicism and the counter growth of Calvinism had the result of dividing Europe into two religious camps, bitterly opposed to each other, and ready to plunge into mortal conflict. The consequence was that the next forty years saw religious strife taking the place of the old struggle of the nations for supremacy. National hatreds were almost forgotten in the fierce sectarian animosities that divided every nation in middle Europe into two factions, and soon was to bring about warfare in nearly every land. We shall never rightly understand the policy of Elizabeth if we do not realize that all her action, at home and abroad, was determined by her relation to the great struggle which was convulsing Europe.

17. The point of European history in which the Counter-Reformation began to complicate the general course of politics coincided roughly with Elizabeth's accession. The war which of Le Cateau-Philip II. had waged with English help against Cambrésis. France still lingered on, but Philip had so fully secured victory that, in April, 1559, France was compelled to make peace. This was done in the treaty of *Le Cateau-Cambrésis*, by which Spain finally obtained the chief control of Italy, but allowed the French to keep Calais, so that England had to pay the price of her ally's success. This peace marks the end of the long struggle for supremacy in Europe which had begun with the war of Louis XII. against Maximilian and Ferdinand, and had culminated in the rivalry of Francis I. and Charles V. Though the dominions of Charles V. were divided, his son, Philip of Spain, the lord of the most important of his possessions, was incontestably the first power in Europe. The death of Henry II. of France soon after the conclusion of the treaty added still further to Philip's predominance. There were no more strong kings of France for more than thirty years, during which period the three worthless sons of Henry II. successively ruled.

18. Among the motives for the conclusion of the treaty of Le Cateau was the recognition by both the French and Spanish kings that it was inexpedient for the two chief Catholic monarchs to continue fighting when neither of them was able to stop the growth of Protestantism in his own dominions. Philip now set himself to work with a will to stamp out Calvinism in his Netherlandish possessions, while Francis II. of France was, through his wife Mary Stewart, induced by her mother's kinsfolk, the house of Guise,

Philip II.
and the
Counter-
Reforma-
tion.

the most strenuous upholders of Catholicism in France, to take vigorous measures to suppress the Calvinists of France, who were more generally called *Huguenots*. National animosities, however, could not die down in a day, and Spain and France long remained so exceedingly jealous of each other that they found it impossible to work together for a common purpose. This was particularly fortunate for England since French illwill had by no means ceased at the peace. Not content with her position as queen of France and Scotland, Mary Stewart assumed the title of queen of England, and strict Catholics were reminded that the pope had never sanctioned the marriage of Anne Boleyn to Henry VIII., and that their daughter could never be therefore the legitimate queen of England. In the face of such a challenge Elizabeth can hardly be blamed for helping the Scottish Protestants to establish their supremacy. The result of the triumph of the Scottish Reformation was the practical destruction of Mary Stewart's power in her native land, since the Scots had effected their revolution without seeking for or obtaining her good will, and the effect of their action was to set up a Calvinistic republic in Scotland.

19. Before many months, however, the sickly Francis II. died, and his brother and successor Charles IX. was controlled by their mother, Catharine de' Medici, a cunning Italian, who feared the Guises, and sought to maintain the royal power by balancing the Protestants against the Catholics. Religious war broke out as the result of this in France, and the Huguenots, who were but a minority of Frenchmen, were so soon beaten that they called upon Elizabeth for help. Elizabeth, though professing a great reluctance to help rebels, soon succumbed, as in Scotland, to the temptation of making her profit out of the divisions of her enemies. She sent some help to the Protestants, who in return put her in possession of Le Havre, which she hoped to hold as an equivalent for Calais. Unluckily for her the French factions made peace, and in 1563 united to expel the English from their new foothold beyond the Channel. But the weak rule of Charles IX. and the continuance of religious struggles prevented France from inflicting harm on England. Moreover, French hostility to England made Philip II. anxious to keep up his alliance with her, despite his disgust at the religious changes brought about after Elizabeth's succession. Thus Elizabeth was able to steer between the rivalries of the chief continental

The loss
of Le
Havre,
1563.

powers. The continuation of the old national animosities saved England from the greatest danger that she could encounter—the danger, namely, of a combination of Catholic powers against her. With great skill and cunning Elizabeth kept England as free as she could from the intrigues of the continent, and sought to work out her country's destinies after her own fashion.

20. In 1561 Mary Stewart returned to Scotland. She had no prospects of power in France after her husband's death, and her bold spirit preferred to abandon the comfort and repose that the land of her adoption still offered the queen dowager for the risks and excitement of attempting to play the royal part in the country that hated her religion and rejected her authority. She was coldly received in Scotland, but she showed marvellous tact and self-restraint, and gradually won over many of the nobles to her side. She was content to let the country be ruled in her name by her brother, James Stewart, earl of Moray, an illegitimate son of James v. She accepted the establishment of Calvinism, and only required liberty to hear mass. The only person unmoved by her blandishments was Knox. He bitterly denounced the services of the queen's private chapel. "One mass," he declared, "is more fearful to me than ten thousand armed enemies."

21. Four years of inaction taught Mary that she had not much to hope for in Scotland. She was too ambitious to endure for ever the position of a nominal queen, and as she could not get real power in Scotland, she once more began to make England the chief centre of her efforts. The English Roman Catholics were getting more and more disgusted with the rule of Elizabeth, and were hoping that Mary would some day become their queen and restore their faith. Mary was delighted to become their champion, and preferred to see Elizabeth driven from the throne by force to the remote chance of waiting for her death. In 1565 she declared to the world her interest in English affairs by choosing as her second husband her cousin, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, the son of the earl of Lennox, and near to the succession of the English throne, since his mother was the daughter of Margaret Tudor, the widow of James iv., by her second husband the earl of Angus. Darnley, who had been brought up in England, was a sort of leader of the English Catholics, and Elizabeth was so disgusted with the marriage, that she incited Moray and the Scots nobles to rise in revolt against it. Mary now felt strong enough to act for herself.

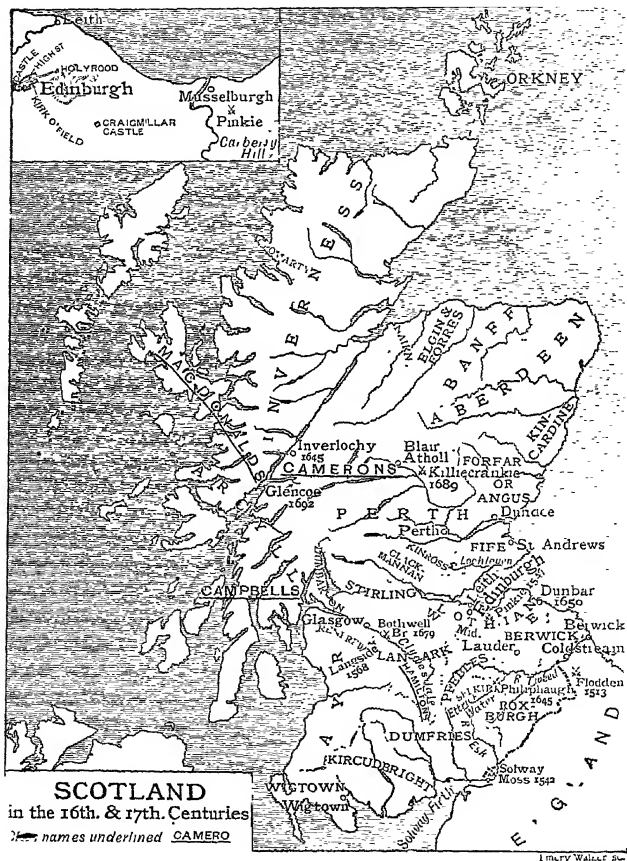
She completed her marriage with Darnley, defeated Moray, and drove him out of Scotland.

22. Mary soon found that her husband was so foolish and treacherous that he was useless to help her to carry out her plans. She gradually gave her chief confidence to an Italian named David Riccio, whom she raised from the Murder of Riccio, 1566. position of one of the singing-men of her chapel to be her secretary. Darnley grew furiously jealous of the Italian upstart, and joined with some of the Scottish nobles in an intrigue against him. On March 9, 1566, while Riccio was supping with the queen at Holyrood Palace in Edinburgh, the conspirators suddenly burst into the room, dragged the shrieking secretary from her presence, and stabbed him to death in an ante-chamber. Stung to profound indignation by her favourite's murder, Mary kept her presence of mind with remarkable fortitude. She soon persuaded her weak husband to give up his associates and return to her side. Then she fell upon the murderers and drove them out of the country. Like Moray, they fled to England, where Elizabeth readily sheltered them. Three months after Riccio's murder, Mary's only child was born, the future James VI. of Scotland and I. of England.

23. Mary and Darnley soon began to quarrel again. The queen now found a stronger and more capable instrument of her ambition in James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, a Murder of Darnley, 1567. ruffianly border noble of rare courage, energy, and cleverness. Mary became his absolute slave, and scandal became busy with their names. Bothwell made it his object to get Darnley out of the way so that Mary might be free to marry him. Accordingly he met some of the discontented nobles at Craigmillar Castle, near Edinburgh, where they signed what was called the *Bond of Craigmillar*, by which the conspirators pledged themselves to Darnley's death. Darnley, who was just recovering from a dangerous illness, now took up his quarters at a lonely house called the *Kirk o' Field*, a little to the south of Edinburgh. On the night of February 9, 1567, the Kirk o' Field was blown up by gunpowder, and Darnley's body was found not far from the ruined house. There can be no doubt that Bothwell had accomplished the murder. What share Mary had in it is not easy to determine; but it is probable that she both knew and approved of what Bothwell was doing, and it is certain that he in no wise forfeited her favour.

24. Lennox, Darnley's father, accused Bothwell of his son's

murder, and Mary, who was forced to seem anxious to avenge her husband's death, fixed a day for his trial. But good care was taken to make the proceedings a mere farce. Lennox himself was



afraid to appear, and no man ventured to give evidence against the queen's favourite. The court therefore acquitted Bothwell, and Mary made its action the excuse for once more giving him her open support. Even now she was afraid to wed herself to the man whom all suspected as her husband's assassin. It was accordingly arranged that Bothwell should fall upon her as she was riding from Stirling to Edinburgh and make a show of forcing her to become his wife. But the pretence was too transparent to deceive any one. All Scotland rose in revolt against the queen and her ruffianly husband. Even the nobles who had helped Bothwell were delighted to have an excuse in his crime for attacking the royal power. It was to no purpose that Mary, for the first and last time in her life, showed a disposition to abandon her religion rather than give up the fierce noble who had won her heart. She attended Protestant sermons, and sought to put herself at the head of the Protestant party. But the very soldiers she called upon to protect her from the rebels refused to strike a blow in her favour. At *Carberry Hill*, outside Edinburgh, her partisans deserted her, and she was taken prisoner by the rebel lords. Bothwell fled from Scotland, and died a few years later. Mary was deprived of her throne, and her infant son proclaimed James VI. Moray and the Protestant exiles returned and assumed the government in his name.

Deposition
of the
queen of
Scots, 1567.

25. For nearly a year the deposed queen was kept a captive in the island-castle of *Lochleven* in Kinross-shire. But the victorious nobles soon began to quarrel among themselves, and in 1568 the great Clydesdale house of Hamilton raised a revolt in her favour. Mary escaped from Lochleven, and was once more at the head of an army. On May 13, however, she was defeated by Moray at *Langside*, near Glasgow. Unable to bear up any longer against her enemies in Scotland, Mary took the bold step of throwing herself upon the mercy of Elizabeth. She rode from the field of Langside to the Solway, crossed its waters in a fishing-boat, and landed in England, exploring her cousin's protection. From this moment a new stage in their rivalry began. The fugitive was henceforth to be a greater source of trouble to Elizabeth than ever she had been when mounted on the thrones of France and Scotland.

Mary's
flight to
England,
1568.

26. Elizabeth was immensely embarrassed by Mary's appeal. She dared not offend her allies, the Scottish Protestants, by restoring the exiled queen, and she was equally afraid to let her escape to France, where her claims on England might once more

be taken up. Yet she was almost equally alarmed at the prospect of keeping Mary in England, where she would be at hand to be the centre of every Catholic conspiracy, and Mary's imprisonment might at any moment be raised from her prison to the throne. Under such circumstances Elizabeth found it easy to adopt the policy of hesitation and delay on which she was always willing to fall back. Her strongest reason for not helping Mary was the fatal business of the murder of Darnley. Accordingly, she announced that before taking any decided steps in the matter she must investigate the charges brought against the queen of Scots, and for that purpose she appointed a commission, at the head of which was the duke of Norfolk. Moray and the Protestant lords laid before this body all the evidence they could find as to Mary's guilt. Chief amongst it was a series of letters and love-poems, called the *Casket Letters*, because it was said that they had been found in a casket at Carberry Hill, at the time immediately before Mary's deposition. If genuine, the casket letters were convincing proofs of Mary's guilt, but her friends have always declared them to have been forged by Moray and his friends. Anyhow, the commissioners never came to any decision in the matter. Elizabeth preferred that Mary should be neither condemned nor acquitted, but rather remain in captivity under a cloud, so that she might be used or condemned accordingly as future events might determine. Mary was therefore retained in honourable imprisonment in England, while Moray and the Scots lords went back home, secure of Elizabeth's support.

27. Eighteen years of plots and rebellions were Elizabeth's punishment for lacking courage to take a decided course. The next year (1569) the Catholics of the north rose in revolt under the leadership of the two chief representatives of the ancient noble houses that had so long been their natural leaders. These were Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland, and Charles Neville, earl of Westmorland. It was another Pilgrimage of Grace, and showed that the north country was still strongly in favour of the old religion. An unsuccessful effort was made to free the queen of Scots, which was defeated by Mary being moved to the midlands far beyond the northerners' reach. Then the earl of Sussex put down the insurrection, and soon drove the two earls to find a refuge in exile. The collapse of the rebellion immensely strengthened Elizabeth's position. For the rest of her reign none of her enemies succeeded in exciting an open rising.

28. Other resources were still, however, open to the foes of Elizabeth. In 1570 the regent Moray was assassinated in Scotland, and three years of civil war and confusion ensued. These did nothing, however, to help Mary's cause, and in 1573 another strong regent was found in the earl of Morton, who successfully upheld Protestant ascendancy and good order in the name of the little James VI. Of more value to Mary than her brother's death was the intervention of the pope in her favour. The pope was now Pius V., an old Inquisitor, and a bitter, if high-minded, zealot for the Counter-Reformation. In February, 1570, Pius issued a bull excommunicating Elizabeth and deposing her from the throne. Parliament answered him by passing acts that made it treason to introduce papal bulls into the country or to become a convert to the Roman Catholic faith. Henceforward there was, as long as Elizabeth lived, war to the knife between England and Rome. It was almost impossible for an Englishman to remain a good Catholic and a faithful subject of Queen Elizabeth, and a series of Catholic plots to depose Elizabeth and put Mary in her place, showed the result of the pope's action on the minds of the more zealous of his disciples.

29. In 1571 a Florentine banker named Ridolfi, who had long resided in England, and was a secret agent of the pope and Philip of Spain, persuaded the duke of Norfolk to put himself at the head of a rebellion to release Mary Stewart and restore Catholicism. Norfolk, a son of the poet earl of Surrey, was the only duke left in England, and, though he had always conformed to Elizabeth's Church, he was very lukewarm in his support of the Reformation, and was indignant that a man of his high rank should have so little power at court. He was tempted by the proposal that he should be married to Mary, who might then be restored to the Scottish throne and recognized as Elizabeth's successor. After trying for a time to reconcile loyalty to Elizabeth with the acceptance of this glittering prospect, the duke was talked over by Ridolfi into overt treason. But Cecil and his spies had discovered all about the plot, and in 1572 Norfolk was convicted of treason and executed. For the next few years England enjoyed comparative peace. Despite the papal excommunication, Elizabeth seemed stronger than ever.

30. France, distracted by civil war, had now dropped into a secondary position in politics. In 1572 Protestant Europe was horrified by the cold-blooded massacre of the French Protestants on St. Bartholomew's day, at the instigation of Charles IX. This

The bull of excom-
munication,
1570.

The Ridolfi
plot, 1571.

was but an isolated act of cruel policy, and the French monarchy, floating helplessly between the Catholic and Protestant parties,

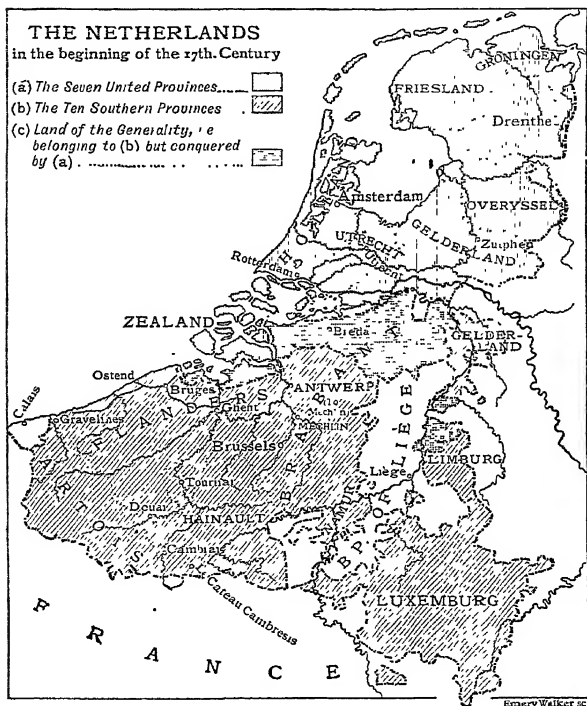
Philip II. and the revolt of the Netherlands. was powerless to hurt England. Philip of Spain, as the avowed leader of Catholicism, was gradually becoming the supporter of the English Catholics and the chief hope of the captive queen of Scots. But

Philip's attention was much taken up with other matters, and he was still so jealous of France that he tried to keep on good terms with England. Philip had had to contend since 1572 with a formidable revolt in the Netherlands, where his attempts to make himself a despot and to crush out Protestantism had completely failed. For five years his ruthless general Alva had ruled the *seventeen provinces of the Spanish Netherlands* with an iron hand. But it was impossible by persecution to change the faith of a whole nation, and the only result of Alva's repression was that Holland and Zealand, the most Protestant and energetic of the provinces, rose in revolt, and heroically defied the whole resources of the Spanish monarchy. Not only did Philip fail to put down the Hollanders; in 1576 all the other provinces followed their example, and united in the *Pacification of Ghent*, by which the Catholic and Protestant districts alike agreed to protect their ancient political liberties from Philip. This comprehensive union did not last long, and Philip's illegitimate brother, Don John of Austria, who was now governor of the Netherlands, soon persuaded some of the southern provinces, which were mostly Catholic, to recognize Philip's rule on condition that he gave up his attacks on their political liberties. Thereupon the seven northern provinces, headed by Holland, formed in 1579 the *union of Utrecht*, by which they became a federal Calvinistic commonwealth under William, prince of Orange, as their *stadtholder*, or governor. Such was the origin of the *Dutch Republic of the Seven Provinces of the United Netherlands*. As England sympathized strongly with the rebels, there was fresh reason for ill-will between Elizabeth and Philip. But neither dared attack the other yet.

31. Elizabeth found compensation for these troubles in the increasing loyalty of her subjects, and their increasing willingness

The seminary priests. to accept her ecclesiastical policy. So feeble was the position of Catholicism in England that the leaders of the Church took the alarm, and made a determined effort to rekindle the zeal of the English Romanists. A Lancashire priest, named William Allen, who had forsaken his

country rather than recognize the royal supremacy, set up at *Douai*, within Philip's Netherlandish dominions, a college or *seminary*, to train young Englishmen for the priesthood, that they might return to their homes as missionaries of the old faith. The



college at Douai, soon transferred to *Reims*, in French territory, became very flourishing, and sent forth a stream of missionary clergy to England, where their energy gave new life to the Catholic cause. Up to this time many Roman Catholics had been content to attend the services of their parish churches, and

to take little part in politics. The *seminary priests*, as the pupils of the college were called, soon put an end to such laxity, and excited the alarm of the government. The severe laws passed in a panic in 1571 were employed against them, and in 1577 Cuthbert Mayne, executed at Launceston for denying the royal supremacy and having a papal bull in his possession, was the first Catholic martyr which Douai sent forth.

32. Three years later even greater fear was excited among the Protestants by the first appearance of the *Jesuits* in England (1580). Their leaders were Robert Parsons, a subtle Jesuit invasion, and dexterous intriguer, and Edmund Campion, a high-souled enthusiast, who was careless about politics, 1580.

and thought only of winning souls over to his Church. In great alarm fresh laws were passed against popish recusants, and a keen search made for the Jesuits, who wandered in disguise throughout the land, stirring up the zeal of their partisans. Parsons escaped to the continent in safety, but Campion was captured. He could not be proved to be disloyal to Elizabeth, and was cruelly tortured in the hope of extracting some sort of confession from him. In due course he was convicted and hung as a traitor at Tyburn. He was as much a martyr as any of the Protestants who suffered under Mary. During the rest of Elizabeth's reign scores of Catholic priests and laymen incurred the fate of Mayne and Campion.

33. The sanguinary persecution of the missionaries had a sort of justification in the fact that many of them, like Parsons, were steeped to the lips in treason. Plot after plot was framed to compass Elizabeth's death and bring Mary The Bond of Association, 1584. to the throne. Philip of Spain gave help to the conspirators, and in 1584, on the failure of a scheme to murder Elizabeth, the Spanish ambassador was ordered to quit London. Burghley and Walsingham drew up a document called the *Bond of Association*, which all classes of Englishmen eagerly signed. The members of the bond pledged themselves to defend Elizabeth against her enemies, and bound themselves, in the event of her murder, to put to death any person on whose behalf the deed was committed. This meant that if Elizabeth were slain, the queen of Scots would be at once executed. In 1585 parliament legalised the association and passed fresh laws against the Catholics. It banished all Jesuits and seminary priests, and made the return of any one of them an act of treason.

— 34. In 1586 a new plot was formed to murder Elizabeth. Its instigator was the seminary priest, John Ballard, and its instrument

a foolish and vain young Catholic gentleman, named Anthony Babington. Babington was so proud of his boldness that he rashly boasted of what he was going to do, and soon enabled Walsingham's spies to find out all about the conspiracy. At last Walsingham got into his hands letters of Mary written to Babington, in which she expressed her approval of the attempt to murder Elizabeth. Then he fell on Babington, and put him and his accomplices to death.

The
Babington
conspiracy,
1586.

35. The chief importance of the Babington conspiracy is that it supplied Walsingham with evidence of Mary's complicity in an assassination plot, and frightened Elizabeth, who had hitherto been afraid to proceed to extremities against Mary, into allowing the queen of Scots to be tried for treason. A court for the trial of Mary was held at *Fotheringhay Castle*, near Peterborough. Mary refused to answer before the court on the ground that as a crowned queen she was no subject of Elizabeth, and could not, therefore, commit treason against her. Nevertheless, she was, in October, 1586, sentenced to the block as a traitor, though Elizabeth long delayed the execution of the sentence. Parliament urged her in strong terms to put Mary to death at once, but Elizabeth delayed until February, 1587, before she would allow anything to be done. Even after signing the order for her rival's death, she would not allow it to be sent down to *Fotheringhay*, till at last the council, which fully shared the opinions of parliament, ordered Davison, the secretary of state, to despatch the warrant. On February 8, 1587, Mary was beheaded in the great hall of *Fotheringhay Castle*, meeting her end with rare courage and dignity. Elizabeth loudly protested that the deed was not of her ordering, and ruined the unlucky Davison for breaking her commands. This she did partly to evade responsibility, and partly so as to give some specious excuse to her ally, James VI., for his mother's execution. But Elizabeth was the chief gainer by her rival's death. There was no longer any use in murdering the queen of England when her successor would be the Protestant king of Scots. The worst of Elizabeth's troubles was over after the tragic fate of Mary Queen of Scots.

Execution
of Mary
Queen of
Scots, 1587.

CHAPTER VII

THE LATTER YEARS OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH (1587-1603)

Chief Dates :

- 1588. Defeat of the Spanish Armada.
- 1591. The fight of the *Revenge*.
- 1596. The capture of Cadiz.
- 1597. First Monopolies contest.
- 1598. The Irish rebellion.
- 1601. Second Monopolies contest.
- 1603. Death of Elizabeth.

1. DURING the years of Mary's imprisonment England and Spain were slowly drifting into war. Philip was the instigator of every plot for the release of the captive queen, and England retaliated by giving as much help to the Netherlandish rebels as Elizabeth would allow. Moreover, Philip sent, as we shall see, troops and priests to Ireland to stir up the Irish against England and Protestantism, while he kept up active intrigues in Scotland, and strove, though but to little purpose, to persuade James VI., who was now growing up to manhood, to take up the Catholic cause, and make efforts on behalf of his mother. There was even more friction between England and Spain by sea than by land, and each power had done so much harm to the other that in any ordinary times open war would certainly have ensued between them. Yet after nearly twenty years of ceaseless friction nominal peace still prevailed. This was partly due to the fact that both Elizabeth and Philip were somewhat irresolute in temperament and too timid to run the risks which war involved. But the chief reason of the hesitation of Philip was the general political condition of Europe. Though nearly thirty years had elapsed since the outbreak of a national war like those which had been waged before 1559, yet the old jealousy between France and Spain was by no means dead. Philip was still afraid that if he attacked England, France would take advantage of his plight and fall upon him with all her might.

Thus it was that, though as the champion of Catholicism he would have dearly loved to conquer England, as the chief monarch of Europe he was so conscious of the risk to his authority that a fight with Elizabeth implied, that he still preferred to let things drift, and still professed to value English friendship after the feeling between the two countries had become very bitter.

2. Philip had a special motive for hesitation in the revolt of the Netherlands. Thanks to Don John of Austria, he was making slow but steady progress in winning back his position over the southern and central provinces, though the north still defied his efforts. Don John of Austria soon died, but a worthy successor to him was found in Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, one of the best generals of that age. His advance soon frightened both Elizabeth and Henry III. of France, and dread of the imminent triumph of Spain brought about for the moment that alliance between England and France which Philip dreaded more than anything else. It was proposed in 1581 to cement this friendship by a marriage between Elizabeth and Francis, duke of Anjou, the younger brother of Henry III., who in 1574 had succeeded his brother Charles IX. as king of France. The scheme was the more formidable to Philip since it was hoped that Anjou would be accepted by both the Protestant and Catholic Netherlands as their ruler. Thus the result of the Anglo-French alliance was to be the establishment of a French prince on the ruins of the Spanish power in the Low Countries. It was as severe a blow as could be directed against Philip II.

Anglo-French intervention in the Netherlands.

3. There had been constant talk of the marriage of Elizabeth ever since her accession. Her people, anxious that she should have a direct heir, had long urged her to choose a husband, and Elizabeth had so far gratified them that she entered into numerous negotiations with a view to her marriage, though she had made up her mind never to share her throne with a husband. Now, when the queen was nearly fifty years of age, the most serious of her marriage projects was started. Anjou, an ugly, contemptible fellow, more than twenty years her junior, came to England, and Elizabeth received him as her future husband. Before long, however, realizing the folly of her position, she was glad to send off Anjou to the Netherlands, and showed an unwonted liberality in supplying him with men and money for carrying out his projects. Anjou's incompetence, however, soon wrecked all the fine schemes formed by England and

The Anjou marriage scheme, 1581.

France to lay low the power of Philip. In a short time he was driven away by the Netherlands themselves, and went back to France, where he soon died. Long before this, the fantastic notion of wedding him to Elizabeth had been quite forgotten.

4. The chief importance of the Anjou marriage scheme was that it induced Elizabeth to take an active part in supporting the revolted Netherlands against the king of Spain. After Anjou's failure, Parma renewed his advance, and soon the provinces were reduced to the greatest straits. In 1584 their heroic leader, William of Orange, was murdered by a Catholic fanatic. It was the same year in which Elizabeth expelled the Spanish ambassador for complicity in an assassination plot. In 1585 Parma captured *Antwerp*, and thus broke the back of the resistance of the southern provinces. In their despair the Netherlands offered to make Elizabeth their ruler if she would protect them from Philip's assaults. Too prudent to accept this sovereignty, Elizabeth sent an army to help them, at the head of which she placed her favourite, the earl of Leicester. But Leicester was almost as incompetent as Anjou, and his arrival brought little relief. The most famous episode in his campaign was a fight against the Spaniards near *Zutphen*, in which his accomplished nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, the pattern Elizabethan gentleman, poet, romance-writer, courtier, and soldier, received his death-wound. Before the end of 1586 Leicester quarrelled with the Dutch and went back to England. Then came the Babington conspiracy and the execution of Mary Queen of Scots. At last even the sluggish Philip felt that the cup of English offences was full to the brim, and prepared to wreak a signal vengeance upon the English heretics.

5. A generation of conflict between Englishmen and Spaniards on the ocean made the long-delayed rupture more complete and more bitter. The discovery of America by Columbus had opened up for Spain a mighty empire in Southern and Central America, and had forced a nation of soldiers and priests to produce, almost in its own despite, navigators, colonisers, and traders. The commercial position of Spain was made much stronger when, in 1580, Philip conquered Portugal and its colonies, and so extended his power to Brazil and over the remnants of the great Eastern Empire which the Portuguese had set up, following on the tracks of Vasco da Gama, who had first discovered the sea-road to India and the East. At first the Spaniards and Portuguese had no rivals in their quest of wealth, conquest,

and adventure in strange lands. Least of all was competition to be expected from England, whose people, up to the middle of the sixteenth century, were distinguished neither for their seamanship, commerce, nor love of adventure. Englishmen remained what they had been in the Middle Ages, an easy-going, stay-at-home people, loving hard fighting and good living, but so indifferent to trade and money-making, that they were still content that the larger share of the external trade of their island should remain in the hands of foreigners.

6. Signs of a new spirit of activity were dimly discernible in early Tudor times. The marvellous discoveries of Columbus and Vasco da Gama stirred the sluggish fancy of Henry VII, who sent John Cabot, a Venetian settled in Bristol, on a voyage to America, which resulted in the discovery of the coast of Labrador. Nothing practical came of this, however, until the private enterprise of the merchants of Bristol, the adopted home of Cabot, sent out expeditions of discovery that won for England a small share in the Newfoundland fisheries and the trade with West Africa. Plymouth adventurers, conspicuous among whom was William Hawkins, opened out commerce between England and South America. In London, the *Company of Merchant Adventurers*, which, as the chief society of English traders, had long competed for the Baltic and Scandinavian markets with the German merchants of the Steelyard, showed, under the guidance of Sebastian Cabot, the son of the discoverer of Labrador, an enterprise foreign to earlier generations. In 1553, at Cabot's suggestion, the first native English voyage of discovery was undertaken by Sir Hugh Willoughby and his pilot, Richard Chancellor, who strove to open up new trading centres in northern and eastern lands, and to discover, if possible, a north-east passage to China through the Arctic seas. Ill luck attended this pioneer expedition, and only Chancellor with a few of the ships made any discovery of importance. He found his way into the White Sea, and opened up trading relations with Russia of such importance that a Muscovy or *Russia Company* was started to work it.

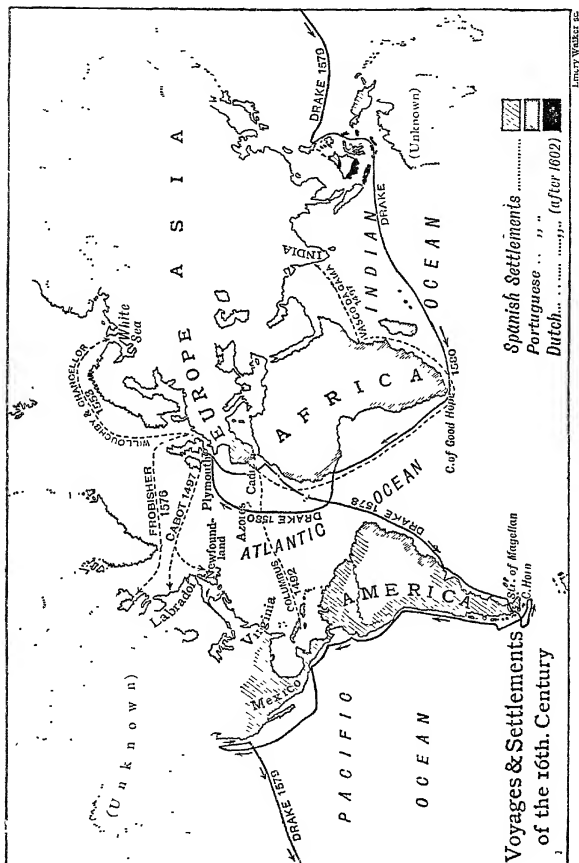
The beginnings of English maritime enterprise.

Chancellor's voyage, 1553.

7. Though Chancellor's voyage was undertaken under Mary, the new impulse which drove Englishmen to adventure and discovery was the direct result of the great stirring of men's minds that followed the Reformation. Though no theologians, and greedy, cruel, and reckless in their lives, most of the English

seamen were sound Protestants and great haters of the pope. Already in Mary's reign some of the Protestant refugees took to the sea and robbed their Catholic fellow-countrymen with special zest. A few years later the struggling Protestants of France and the Netherlands followed their example, and the *water-beggars*, as the Calvinist shipmen of Holland and Zealand were called, found an easy prey in the richly freighted galleons of Spain. Thus the Protestant sailors of England and Holland alike found that to plunder Spaniards was a shorter way to get rich than to trade honestly on their own account. Religious zeal made it a pious work to despoil the papist subjects of Philip II. Moreover, the Spaniards kept their American colonies under strict control, and claimed an absolute monopoly of trade with them. The dearness which followed monopoly made the Spanish colonists themselves welcome any merchants daring enough to disregard the navigation laws and sell them the goods of which they had urgent need. Hence smuggling commodities into Spanish colonies became another way of making money easily. The impulse to adventure had begun.

8. The special want of the Spaniards in America was that of labourers to work their mines and till their plantations. They were too few and too proud to work themselves in a tropical climate, and the native Americans of the slave-trade, West India islands died off like flies when forced to labour for their new masters. John Hawkins, son of the William Hawkins of the reign of Henry VIII., made voyages in his father's track, and soon learnt that an easy way to win riches was to kidnap or buy shiploads of strong and hardy negroes in West Africa, and sell them to the Spaniards in America and the West Indies. In 1562 and in 1564 Hawkins made two slaving voyages to the Guinea coast, and sold his human cargo to such profit in Hispaniola and Mexico that he came home a wealthy and a famous man. Philip II. was much incensed at the daring heretic. When, in 1567, Hawkins attempted a third voyage on a larger scale, the Spanish officials would not allow him to transact business. Hawkins tried to force his wares upon the colonists, but was entrapped into the narrow harbour of *Vera Cruz* in Mexico, and overborne by numbers. He lost most of his ships and profits, but returned safely to England, and showed the way to other adventurers. He was the founder of the negro slave-trade which made possible the colonization of tropical America by a planter aristocracy cultivating its lands by black labour, and which for more



than two hundred years was to be a source of immense gain to English merchants. Neither English nor Spaniards had the least care of the cruelty and wickedness of this traffic in human flesh.

9. Hawkins was a mere man of business, though terribly efficient at his work. His example was soon followed by others.

in some of whom his greedy commercial spirit was in
 somewhat ennobled by romantic love of adventure and
 a sort of crusading enthusiasm against the Spanish
 papists. Conspicuous among the higher sort of ex-
 plorers was Martin Frobisher, a Yorkshireman who
 made three voyages to the frozen coasts of Labrador in the hope
 of finding a north-west passage to China, and Francis Drake, a
 Devonshire man and a kinsman of Hawkins, who, after having on
 a voyage to Panama climbed a hill from which he could look down
 on the Pacific, formed a resolution to sail an English ship upon
 that strange ocean which had hitherto been navigated by the
 Spaniards alone. With this object Drake set forth in 1577 with
 a fleet of five small vessels, hoping to redeem his vow. He was
 away from England for three years, and met with countless perils
 from storms, mutinies, and the hostility of the Spaniards. He lost
 all his ships save his own vessel, the *Pelican*, which he rechristened
 the *Golden Hind*. He crossed the South Atlantic, sailed through
 the dangerous straits of Magellan to the open Pacific, where he
 plundered the Spaniards at his will, and at last, loaded with
 precious booty, sailed westwards over the Indian Ocean, and safely
 got home in 1580 by way of the Cape of Good Hope, being the first
 captain who had sailed round the world and returned alive to port.
 His success made him the hero of the moment, and Elizabeth,
 visiting the *Golden Hind* as it lay in the Thames at Deptford,
 dubbed him a knight on his own quarter-deck.

10. The Spaniards rightly denounced Drake as a pirate, and
 demanded his surrender and the restitution of the property he had
 stolen. It was the time of the Jesuit invasion and

The breach
 between
 England
 and Spain,
 1584.
 the Anjou marriage scheme, and Elizabeth was of no
 mind to give up the adventurer to his enemies. She
 put off the Spaniards with fair words, and encouraged

Drake as much as she could. New sources of offence
 now arose daily between the two countries. After the expulsion of
 the Spanish ambassador in 1584, Philip retaliated by confiscating
 all English ships and property found in his dominions. Drake
 and Frobisher were for the first time commissioned in the queen's
 service to make reprisals on Spanish ports. In 1585 they plundered

Vigo, and led a fresh expedition to the West Indies. In 1587 the execution of Mary Queen of Scots at length goaded Spain into open war, and in great indignation Philip prepared a fleet that would avenge English insults to his coasts and his religion by pouring an army into their island. When his plans were still but half ready, Drake sailed into *Cádiz* harbour and sank or burnt his ships. Philip was more than ever bent upon revenge, and fitted out another fleet which was to invade England in 1588.

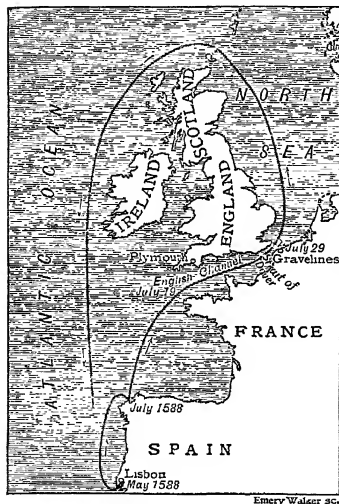
11. Philip's plan was to send his fleet to Flanders, whence it was to carry the duke of Parma's army over the narrow seas to England. It was hoped that on the landing of the Spaniards the English Catholics would gladly join with them in throwing off the yoke of the heretic queen, and William Allen, now made a cardinal, wrote an exhortation to the English to accept Philip as the executor of Pius v's sentence of deposition. Philip's hands were set free by the death of Mary, whom he had always suspected by reason of her French connections. He claimed the English throne himself, as a nearer descendant of John of Gaunt than the Tudors.

12. England had no regular troops to oppose the Spanish veterans, and her best chance was to meet her enemies at sea, where the English had so often beaten the Spaniards in recent years that they had no great reason to fear them now. Since Henry VIII.'s time the royal navy of England had been an efficient and growing force, and Hawkins, of late years *Treasurer to the Navy*, had built a large number of new ships, on better lines than any of the Spanish vessels. Lying lower in the water than the Spaniards, and with fewer "castles," or decks, piled up high fore and aft, the English vessels looked smaller than the Spanish, even when they were much of the same size. But they were easier to manage, more seaworthy, quicker, and better equipped than those of the enemy. Moreover, they were built to fight, and were not, like many of the Spaniards, mere transports crowded with soldiers, and ill found for a long voyage. Even the armed merchantmen which swelled the scanty numbers of the royal vessels were trained by a long career of privateering or piracy, and the crews, accustomed to the boisterous seas of the Atlantic fishing-grounds, were much better sailors than their opponents. Both fleets alike were commanded by great noblemen, the Spaniards by the duke of Medina Sidonia, a young grandee with no great knowledge of the sea, and the English by Lord Howard of Effingham, a cousin of the Norfolk beheaded in 1572. However, while the

subordinate commanders on the Spanish side were also noblemen whose experience was on land and whose skill that of the soldier, Lord Howard's immediate subordinates were practical seamen, who had already had long acquaintance with Spanish warfare. Sir Francis Drake was second and John Hawkins third in command, while the largest ship in the fleet had as its captain Martin Frobisher, who, with Hawkins, was knighted during the struggle. A land army was hastily levied, the command over which Elizabeth insisted on giving to Leicester, whose last months

of life were devoted to this supreme service to his mistress. Despite the efforts of Allen, Catholics joined with Protestants in resisting the invaders. It was no longer a war of religions, but a struggle between two nations.

13. The Spaniards were impressed by the magnitude of Philip's preparations, and proudly styled their fleet the *Invincible Armada*. Misfortune dogged its path from the beginning. Starting in May from Lisbon, it was driven back by rough weather and insufficient equipment into the ports of northern Spain, whence it did not finally sail until July. On July 19 the Armada entered the Channel, and



THE COURSE OF THE SPANISH ARMADA.

was rapidly blown by a favourable south-wester towards the straits of Dover. The English admiral, who had waited for the Armada in the Channel, allowed the enemy to pass his anchorage, whereupon he sailed out and closely hung upon the Spaniards' rear. A running fight ensued for the best part of a week. The English had the advantage of attacking on the windward side, and their greater power of sailing close to the wind enabled them to escape action at near

quarters, which was what the Spaniards wanted. Ship after ship of the Armada was cut off and captured by the English. The long artillery fight used up the ammunition of both fleets. The English, however, could get fresh supplies from the shore, while the Spaniards had no such resource open to them. From the very beginning the Spaniards had the worst of the encounter, and at last cast anchor in Calais roads, fully conscious of failure.

14. Lord Howard now began to adopt bolder tactics. He drove the enemy from their anchorage by sending fireships among them, which forced them to cut their cables to avoid being burnt to pieces. Then, on July 29, the English bore battle off down on the Spaniards off *Gravelines*, where the decisive battle was waged for nine hours without intermission. The Spaniards were likely to do better in a regular engagement than in the preliminary skirmishing. They now fought with great courage, and though beaten in the end, were able to retreat in good order. But as the wind still blew from the south, Sidonia's only way of retreat was to sail northwards, and finally make his way home by doubling the north of Scotland. High gales proved fatal to many of the war-worn and storm-tried ships, and many wrecks strewed the western coasts of Scotland and Ireland. It showed rare tenacity among the Spaniards that Sidonia was able to bring back nearly half his fleet to Spain.

15. Thus the attack on England utterly failed. The defeat of the Armada left England free to settle her own destinies for herself, and saved English Protestantism. By making England a great naval power, it prepared the way for our commerce and colonies. It made easy the union with Scotland and the conquest of Ireland, which were soon to come. Nor were its effects limited to England. It inflicted the greatest check ever encountered on the triumphant forces of the Catholic reaction. It secured the freedom of the Seven United Provinces, which, like the fate of England, had hitherto been trembling in the balance. It thus limited the Spanish Netherlands to the Catholic provinces of the south.

16. Even in France the results of the Protestant victory were strongly felt. There the strife between Calvinists and Catholics had just reached its crisis. The weak Henry III. had been repudiated by the extreme Catholics, who looked upon Philip of Spain as their leader, and hoped with his help to make France as strenuous in its devotion to the old faith as was Spain itself. Henry was therefore forced

The battle off Gravelines.

Results of the Protestant victory.

Henry IV., king of France, 1589.

to go over to the Protestants, and was soon afterwards murdered by a Catholic zealot. His death made his distant cousin, Henry, duke of Bourbon and king of Navarre, Henry iv. of France. Thus the house of Valois, which had reigned in France since 1328, gave place to the *house of Bourbon*, which was henceforth to rule France as long as France was to be governed by kings. Henry iv., though the Protestant leader, was no bigot, but a clear-headed, selfish, and capable politician, who looked on religion much in the same way as Elizabeth did. He saw that as a Protestant he had no chance of ruling France, so he turned Catholic, and soon the French, weary of religious warfare, rallied round him. His conversion meant that France remained a Catholic country, but it was a liberal, tolerant Catholicism, very different from the bigoted faith of Spain. Henry gave the Protestants toleration by the *edict of Nantes*, showed that, like Elizabeth, he wished to be king over all his people, restored the declining fortunes of France, and gradually won back for it the first place in Europe. With this object he formed a close alliance with the English queen against Spain, and for ten more years both powers were at war against Philip. In 1598 Philip made peace with France, and died shortly afterwards. With him ended the greatness of Spain.

17. England and Spain continued fighting until after the death of Elizabeth. The main struggle was still at sea, where the efforts of England were not so successful as they had been earlier. Thus, in 1589, Drake failed in an attack on Lisbon; and in 1591 an expedition sent to the Azores under Lord Thomas Howard was compelled to retreat before a stronger Spanish fleet. One of Howard's ships, the *Revenge*, commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, was so slow in withdrawing that it was cut off from its fellows by the Spanish fleet. Thereupon Grenville formed the rash resolve to cut his way through the whole of the enemies' squadron. He was soon assailed on every side, and, mortally wounded after a long resistance, was forced to surrender. He showed such heroism that the fight of the *Revenge* was long remembered among the most brilliant deeds of English seamen.

18. In 1595 Drake and Hawkins led a last expedition to the West Indies. The Spaniards were now used to the English way of fighting, and better prepared to meet it. Accordingly the fleet captured no treasure and won few successes. Both Drake and Hawkins died at sea, and altogether the voyage was a failure. Next year Philip fitted out

a new Armada at Cadiz, whereupon Lord Howard of Effingham and Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, sailed to the Spanish port, destroyed the ships in harbour after a fierce fight, and took Cadiz itself by storm. This rude lesson kept the Spaniards quiet for some years. and after Philip II.'s death in 1598, the war languished for the rest of the reign.

19. The last years of Elizabeth's reign saw the first attempts to found English colonies in America. As early as 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert strove to plant an English settlement on the dreary coast of *Newfoundland*, but failed utterly, and perished at sea on his way home. His half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, the most brilliant and many-sided of the Devonshire heroes of the reign, took up Gilbert's ideas, and between 1585 and 1590 made three attempts to set up an English colony in a part of the mainland of North America, which he called *Virginia*, in honour of the virgin queen. But Raleigh was too busy pushing his fortunes at court to go himself to Virginia, and, without his guidance, the effort came to nothing. When the queen died there was not a single English settlement on the American continent.

The first attempts at English colonies.

20. Englishmen who wished to find a new home beyond sea obtained what they sought in Ireland rather than over the Atlantic. We have seen how, under Henry VIII., the first English king of Ireland, vigorous efforts had been made to make the rule of the English monarchs a reality, and the limited amount of success that had attended them. They were continued under his two daughters, and the first great extension of the English power occurred under Mary, when the districts called *Leix* and *Offaly*, hitherto governed by Irish clan chieftains, were conquered by the queen's deputy, or governor, the earl of Sussex, and were made, as the phrase went, *shire-ground*. By that it was meant that, as in Wales, the setting up of English law followed the establishment of new counties. The newly conquered Irish districts were called *King's County* and *Queen's County*, and their county towns *Philipstown* and *Maryborough*, in honour of Philip and Mary. This was the last advance of the English power in Ireland during the days when English and Irish, though divided by race and language, still agreed about religion.

21. Elizabeth extended to Ireland her English ecclesiastical policy, though there were few Protestants there, either among the native Irish or the Norman lords. She was so thrifty, and had so

much to do at home, that she was very anxious not to incur expense by pursuing an energetic policy in Ireland, and was willing to rule the island through the local chieftains, as her father had done. Quarrels among the O'Neills, the chief native Irish sept, or family, in Ulster, soon made this idea impracticable. The head of the O'Neills had been made earl of Tyrone by Henry VIII. in the hope of winning him over to the English side. Shane O'Neill, the ablest and fiercest of his sons, was disgusted to find his father obtain from the English permission to make another of his children his successor as earl. He therefore rose in revolt, murdered his brother, and drove his father out of the country. The O'Neills elected the victorious Shane as chief of the sept, or, as he was called, The O'Neill, and the successful rebel made himself absolute master of Ulster. Elizabeth strove in vain to treat with him, but Shane was so strong that he openly defied her; and in 1567, the deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, the father of Sir Philip, was compelled to wage war against him. Before long Shane was murdered by a rival clan which envied the power of the O'Neills.

22. Sidney made Ulster shire-ground, and Walter Devereux, first earl of Essex, tried to establish a settlement of Protestant colonists in Antrim, which was soon an utter failure. Ireland and the Counter-Reformation. Before long Ulster fell back into its old lawless freedom, and Sidney's work seemed to be altogether in vain.

A great change was now beginning to bring Irish politics into closer relations with the great world. Up to now Ireland had been quite separated from all European movements. But the constant trouble which Ireland gave Elizabeth tempted the queen's Catholic enemies to avail themselves of the Irish hatred of England and the English religion, and make their land a centre of the Counter-Reformation. The pope sent priests and the king of Spain sent soldiers to Ireland, and these kindled a new rebellion in 1579. This was not, like the revolt of Shane O'Neill, the work of a native clan. Its centre was the Munster branch of the great Norman house of Fitzgerald, whose head was the earl of Desmond. Elizabeth put down the revolt with great cruelty, and reduced the Desmond country to a desert. The rebels' lands were forfeited to the crown, and in 1584 a systematic attempt was made to establish English colonists in Munster. This was called the *Plantation of Munster*. The forfeited estates were divided among gentlemen adventurers, who were to let out their

The
Desmond
rebellion,
1579, and
the Planta-
tion of
Munster.

lands to English farmers. But most of the grantees remained in England, and sought to make profit out of their estates by hiring them out for as much rent as they could get. Few Englishmen would pay high rents for land in Ireland, where they stood a good chance of being murdered by the natives, and were certain to live rough and uncomfortable lives. The result was that the Plantation of Munster proved a failure. A few poor gentlemen, one of whom was the poet Edmund Spenser, settled down in the old homes of



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the Desmonds, but the mass of the forfeited lands were granted to Irishmen, who alone would offer the impossible terms demanded by their landlords. Before long rebellion made short work of the scattered English settlers, and the only real result of the movement was the establishment of some great English landlords in the estates once held by the Desmond family.

23. The suppression of the Desmond revolt left Ireland in comparative peace for twenty years. During this period bitter hatred of

the English and the new zeal of the Irish for Catholicism were rapidly breaking down the barriers which separated clan from clan and the old Irish from the descendants of the Normans. When the Irish revolt of 1598, revolt again broke out in 1598, it was not confined to a single family, race, or district. When the head of the O'Neills, Shane's nephew Hugh, earl of Tyrone, raised Ulster, he had among his supporters the rival clan of the O'Donnells, because he was not like Shane fighting simply for his own clan, but for the pope and all Ireland. Moreover, the rising spread to Munster, where the return of the exiled earl of Desmond gave the signal for a general revolt, which soon swept away the English colonists. Soon all Ireland was ablaze with rebellion. It was the first combined national and Catholic movement against English supremacy.

24. Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, the son of the would-be colonizer of Antrim, and the hero of the Cadiz expedition of 1596, was a gallant and showy young nobleman, and the chief favourite of the old queen. Though his waywardness had already irritated his sovereign, she entrusted him, in 1599, with the difficult task of suppressing the Irish rising. Essex, however, managed matters very incompetently, and soon gave up the task in disgust. In 1600 a stronger ruler was found in Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, under whom the Irish resistance was gradually broken down. Though a large Spanish force came to their help, Mountjoy's energy and ruthlessness finally prevailed over all opposition. The O'Neills held out longest, but about the time of Elizabeth's death, Mountjoy pressed them so hard that Tyrone was forced to make his submission. Thus Ireland was at last conquered; but the cruelty of the process, largely the result of the queen's over-thriftiness, left the bitterest memories behind it. The Irish loathed the foreign yoke, and were only kept down by sheer force.

25. While Ireland was thus conquered by Elizabeth, important steps were being taken to bring about the union of Britain. Wales, united to England on equal terms by Henry VIII., was under Elizabeth for the first time won over to Protestantism by native bishops, of whom the most important was William Morgan, bishop of St. Asaph, whose single-minded zeal procured the publication of a translation of the whole Bible into Welsh, so that it became easy to preach Protestantism with effect to the Welsh people in their own tongue. Moreover, the new friendship which common Protestantism had

brought about between England and Scotland was working out its natural results. Though the will of Henry VIII. had provided that the succession to the English throne should go to the descendants of his younger sister, Mary, duchess of Suffolk, no one paid any serious regard to the children of Lady Catharine Grey, Lady Jane's sister. It was generally agreed that when the old queen died, the next monarch would be the king of Scots, though Elizabeth herself was so jealous of power that she could never bear to have mentioned the question of the succession.

26. The last years of the reign of Elizabeth were a period of wonderful prosperity. Britain was at peace; Ireland was being conquered; the Spaniards were beaten, and the pope The Cecils, and the Jesuits were no longer dangerous. The newly Essex, and Raleigh found restlessness and energy which had disputed with Spain the sovereignty of the seas, and won for England the beginnings of her commerce and maritime greatness, found other outlets in the most wondrous outburst of literature that England was ever to witness. Hardly moved by these new glories, Elizabeth grew old in increasing loneliness as her old favourites and ministers were taken away by death. Burghley, the last of the band, died in 1598, and was lucky in handing on his power to his son, Sir Robert Cecil. While Robert Cecil upheld the cautious views of his father, Essex and Raleigh represented the party that wished to prosecute the war with Spain with more activity than the prudent Cecils would allow. Essex, the favourite of the queen's old age, finally lost her favour by his incompetence in Ireland. On his return without leave from his Irish government, Elizabeth put him into prison. He was soon released, but ordered not to show himself at court. Like a spoilt child he fretted under his sovereign's displeasure. As he could not persuade Elizabeth to receive him again, he strove, in 1601, to excite a revolt among the Londoners, hoping thereby to drive the Cecils from power and compel the old queen to readmit him to his former position. Essex's attempt utterly failed, and he was convicted and executed as a traitor. The result of his folly was to establish Robert Cecil more firmly than ever as chief minister until the old queen's death.

27. As troubles from abroad lessened, Elizabeth had increased difficulties with her own subjects. Some of this was perhaps due to that arbitrary temper which resented all opposition as disloyalty, and continued measures barely justifiable in a time of great crisis when the crisis was almost over. Thus Whitgift continued to harry the Puritans as if their excesses were still a danger to

Protestantism. Long after England had ceased to have any real need to fear the pope, the Roman Catholics were still persecuted almost as cruelly as in the days of the life-and-death struggle of the two faiths in the years immediately succeeding the bull of Pius v. The prisons remained crowded with popish recusants, and the ghastly executions of Catholic priests as traitors were still numerous. But, in addition to her old troubles, Elizabeth now had to face difficulties in dealing with her parliaments.

28. Like Henry VIII., Elizabeth had striven to base her government on the support of parliament. Even under Mary the House of Commons had begun to show signs of restiveness, and Elizabeth was soon to discover that the days of her father were over, and that neither Lords nor Commons would submissively ratify all her commands.

Elizabeth and her Parliaments. Her early parliaments gave her general support, and were liberal in making grants, but they irritated her by urging her to marry. to conciliate the Puritans, and take up a more Protestant foreign policy. She therefore resolved to have as little to do with parliaments as she could, and practised great parsimony so as to avoid frequent occasion for calling them together, so that there were only thirteen sessions of parliament during the forty-five years of her reign. Moreover, she showed much skill in keeping the House of Commons in good humour whenever she had occasion to assemble it. She increased her influence over it by creating a large number of new boroughs, mostly small places, which were sure to return any members that she selected. Sir Robert Cecil also, though her chief minister, remained a commoner, and sat in every parliament, being perhaps the first English statesman who took great pains to manage the House of Commons and persuade it to uphold his policy. If parliament got out of hand, Elizabeth did not scruple to rebuke it, to silence it, or to send the leading commoners to the Tower. Such arbitrary action only increased the Commons' irritation, and made them excessively jealous of their rights.

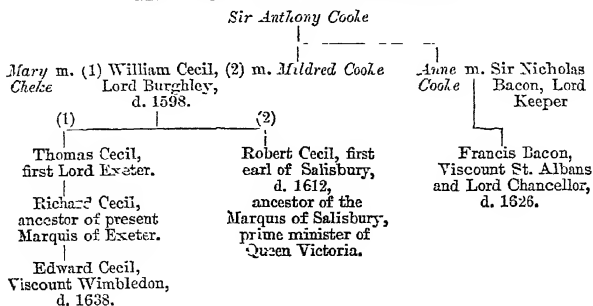
29. Elizabeth's tact and insight, and the Commons' confidence in her general policy, postponed serious conflict until the concluding years of her reign. At last, in 1597, the Commons sent up a grave remonstrance against the queen's over-lavish grants of monopolies. A *monopoly* was the exclusive right to sell a certain article, so that the holder of the privilege could enrich himself by raising its price without fear of competition. Such an exclusive right given to an

The Monopolies contest, 1597 and 1601.

inventor or discoverer is common enough nowadays, and does more good than harm. But Elizabeth found that the grant of a monopoly was the cheapest way in which she could reward her favourites and courtiers, and she soon created so many monopolies in common articles of necessity that they became a serious burden to her people. Even the remonstrances of the parliament of 1597 bore little fruit, and in 1601 a new parliament met and renewed the complaints of its predecessor. When the list of monopolies was read before the Commons, a member exclaimed, "Is not bread among the number? Nay, but it will be if no remedy be found before the next parliament." So loud was the outcry that Elizabeth gave way. She promised to revoke all monopolies that weighed heavily upon her people, and graciously thanked the Commons for calling her attention to grievances of which otherwise she would have had no knowledge. Thus her tact triumphed over the arbitrary temper of her family, and though England had outgrown the Tudor despotism, men bore willingly the rule of so popular a queen and so good an Englishwoman.

30. Elizabeth's health was now breaking up, but she still refused to nominate her successor, though all her ministers wished to have the king of Scots. As she lay dying, they urged her to declare her wishes. When her Death of Elizabeth, statesmen spoke of the king of Scots, she gave no sign; 1603. but when they mentioned Lord Beauchamp, the son of Catharine Grey, she fired up, and cried, "I will have no rascal's son in my seat!" At last she died on March 24, 1603, when nearly seventy years old.

THE CECIL AND BACON FAMILIES



CHAPTER VIII

ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS

1. THE Tudor period saw the end of the Middle Ages, and the beginnings of modern times. It was a season of great revolutionary changes. It was the age of the Renaissance, or the new birth of thought, and learning, and of the Reformation which saw the break up of the unity of the Church of the Middle Ages. Though the Counter-Reformation threatened both Renaissance and Reformation, it was, so far as England went, powerless to change the direction of our national life. Elizabeth saved the Reformation which Henry VIII. had begun, and restored the greatness of the English state. Under her the Renaissance first took a firm hold of her people, and manifested itself in the great outburst of many-sided energy that marked the last five and twenty years of her reign.

2. Such a time of revolutionary storms needed strong pilots to steer the ship of state, and the veiled despotism of the Tudors gave England a form of government which carried it successfully through the age of crisis. Yet the vigorous power exercised by these sovereigns was not due to any formal change in the constitution so much as to the confidence of the people, the ability of the monarchs, the needs of the times, and the decay of the two great checks that had curbed the power of mediæval monarchs. The Church had fallen, and the nobility had lost its old independence. Prelate and noble, the rivals of earlier kings, were now the chief supports of the throne. The independent Commons had not yet arisen.

3. Parliament continued to hold its ancient position, and it was a part of Tudor statecraft to obtain parliamentary sanction for its most arbitrary acts. Up to the end of Elizabeth's reign the Commons could always be trusted to endorse the royal policy. Changes in the constitution of parliament tended to increase its subservience on the crown. Thus the House of Lords became quite different from the House of Lords of

the Middle Ages. It had been an independent body, mainly ecclesiastical in character. It became a preponderatingly lay assembly, and strictly submissive to the crown. Even before the mitred abbots were removed by Henry VIII. there was a small lay majority. After 1539 the ecclesiastical element, only represented by the bishops, became insignificant. Even a more important change was brought about by the dying away of the ancient baronial houses, and the rise in their place of new families, enriched by the spoils of the monasteries, and owing their importance to the service of the crown. Few old families like the Howards, Nevilles, and Percies still stood out among the Russells, Cavendishes, Cecils, and other ministerial houses of recent date. Though the number of lay peers was still very small, the majority was well under the control of the crown. Not many Tudor bishops were bold enough to disobey the orders of their supreme governor. While the Lords on the whole declined in number, the number of the Commons was added to by Henry VIII.'s new members from Wales and Cheshire, and by frequent creations of boroughs. Many of these latter were places of no importance, and were only called upon to return members in order to increase the influence of the crown.

4. There was little friction between crown and parliament, since the province of the two authorities were recognized as distinct. Parliament raised taxes, passed laws, and sent up complaints if anything went amiss. The spending of money, and the execution of the laws were entirely in the hands of the crown. The great feature of the constitutional history of the time is the strengthening of the executive power of the monarchy, both in its central and local organs.

5. The king was his own chief minister, and held in his own hands all the strings of policy. But the task of ruling a great country was so laborious that he was forced to share the burden with his ministers. These ministers were partly great noblemen, who held as of prescriptive right the ancient high offices of state, such as those of treasurer, admiral, or chancellor. But a great noble was not always clever or hard-working, and could not always be trusted to play the king's game. The result was that important and confidential business was increasingly left to the king's two secretaries, who were called under Elizabeth the *secretaries of state*. The Tudor secretaries were men of humbler rank but greater ability than the high officials. They were professional statesmen, and quite devoted to their master. From their staff of clerks and subordinates we have

the beginning of the elaborate civil service and the complicated machinery of government of the modern state.

6. When the king wanted advice he went to his council, now sometimes called the *privy council*. This was a smaller and more confidential body than the *Concilium ordinarium* of The Council. earlier times, which was now practically extinct. The Tudor council was a small board of less than twenty members, and including as a rule men of different ways of thinking, so that the king could hear all sorts of opinions in it. It was so active and powerful that the Tudor period has well been described as the age of government by council. Yet it was the king or queen that acted: the council only advised. When the crown had decided, it was the business of the council to carry out the royal will. Besides its main consultative and administrative function, the council issued *ordinances* or *proclamations*, which were not very different from new laws, and which encroached on the powers of Parliament. In the same way council encroached upon the law courts by its ever-increasing judicial activity.

7. The jurisdiction of the council was an inheritance from the Middle Ages, but was largely added to in Tudor times. Its judicial functions were largely handed over to a committee, which soon became identified with the special tribunal set up for the trial of great offenders by Henry VII's statute against livery and maintenance. This body, which acquired the name of the *Star Chamber* from holding its sessions in a room whose ceiling was painted with stars, became in substance the council in its judicial aspect, including all the councillors and some of the chief judges. It did good work all through Tudor times, partly by making great offenders obey the law, and partly by taking a quicker, wider, and more equitable view of cases than was possible for the common law courts with their stiff traditions of what the law should be. A feature of Tudor times was the establishment of local courts of the same type as the Star Chamber, such as the *Council of the North* at York, and the *Council of Wales* at Ludlow. The *Court of High Commission*, set up at Elizabeth's accession, did for the Church what the other prerogative courts did for the state. This last body always provoked much opposition, but it was hardly until Stewart times that the lay courts became oppressive. All, however, owed their authority to the crown, and worked without a jury and without the traditional regard to fixed legal principles which were both the glory and the limitation of the common law courts.

The Star Chamber and the local councils.

8. Local administration was in the hands of the country gentry. The shire moot was now obsolete except for parliamentary elections, having been superseded by the *justices of the peace*, Local who acted under royal commissions, yet were not state govern- officials, but the independent and unpaid gentry of the ment. district. The justices as individuals tried petty offenders, and all the justices of the county met from time to time in *quarter sessions*, which discharged the whole functions of local government. It is characteristic of the popular character of the Tudor monarchy that it felt itself strong enough to hand over such important work to the local gentry. The schooling in law and administration which his work as justice gave every country squire was of immense importance in preparing the way for the time when a new generation of the landed gentry led in the House of Commons the revolt against the Stewarts.

9. Another aspect of the popular Tudor despotism was its power to govern without the aid of a strong military force. There were no regular soldiers in Tudor England, save a corps of *yeomen* to guard the king's person, and the Military weakness of the Crown. permanent garrisons of Calais, Berwick, and a few of the fortresses. Henry VIII. hired foreign mercenaries in the latter years of his reign, but they soon disappeared after his death. The main defence of the country still fell upon the local *militia*, to serve in which was one of the duties of a citizen. It was commanded by a *lord lieutenant*, appointed for every county since the days of Edward VI. and Mary. Under him were *deputy-lieutenants*, who belonged, like the justices of the peace, to the local gentry. Thus even military commands were entrusted by the Tudors to the country squires. More was done by the state for the navy than the army, but even in a crisis like the Armada, the forces of the crown had to be supplemented by armed merchant-men.

10. Competition became fiercer, and careers were more readily opened to talent as the modern spirit became stronger. The suppression of the monasteries did much to uproot the old Social and economic order, and the annals of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. show how the spirit of unrest was changes. abroad, and how much suffering was involved in the displacement of the ancient landmarks. Yet class distinctions remained strong, even when it was easier to rise from one class to another. The gentry were still a class apart from the rest of the community; but the professional and merchant classes were attaining increased

importance. The one great mediæval profession, that of the clergy, lost power, wealth, and social estimation. A married clergy found it hard to live on the scanty remnants of the old endowments, and a large proportion of the parish priests were ill educated as well as poor. But lawyers made great fortunes, and the medical profession begins to have a status when Henry VIII. set up the *Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons*. Trade grew, and with it the wealth and importance of the merchants, until the highest classes in the land became infected with the commercial spirit. Elizabeth herself took shares, and made her profit out of Drake's piratical attacks on Spain. Landholders regarded their estates as a commercial investment which must return them a high rate of interest for their outlay. The permanent result of this spirit was by no means all evil. As the century grew old, new ways of employment were opened up, which got rid of the sturdy beggar more effectively than the cruel laws of an earlier time. Corn-growing again became profitable as population increased and markets were developed. Fresh crops, such as hops and many new fruits and vegetables, were introduced from the continent, and before the great queen's death the cultivation of the potato was brought in from America. There were more manufactures, and emigration, especially to Ireland, afforded careers for those without occupation at home. Thus both the yeomen and the craftsmen flourished. Many yeomen were able to buy up the lands of the unthrifty gentry, and the successful trader from the towns was constantly becoming absorbed in the landed classes. Anxiety to keep up the supply of skilled workmen took the shape of Elizabeth's famous *Act of Apprentices* of 1563, which declared that no one should exercise a trade until he had served a seven years' apprenticeship in

it. The same year saw the first attempt of the state to set up a systematic and compulsory system of poor relief. This culminated in the most famous of the Elizabethan *poor laws*, passed in 1601. By it the justices were empowered to nominate *overseers* in every parish, and these had authority to tax every inhabitant, so as to provide the sums necessary to support the poor of the parish. Thus grew up our system of poor relief, which remained much the same until the new poor law of 1834.

11. One sign of the growth of English resources was the wonderful raising of the material standards of comfort and civilization. The gross abundance of earlier times had given Englishmen plenty to eat and drink, and the upper classes lived with great

outward state and magnificence. Now the ordinary man's house was built more solidly and comfortably, and lovers of old ways denounced the effeminate luxury that rejected round logs for pillows and bolsters, clean straw or rushes for carpets and tapestry, and a hole in the roof to let out the smoke for a chimney. Forks came into general use instead of fingers. Food also became more varied and wholesome. The introduction of hops improved the quality of beer, and towards the end of the period American explorers introduced a new luxury in tobacco. Men ate so much flesh meat that the state, not so much for religious reasons as for the sake of encouraging the fisheries, strove to keep up the old habit of fasting on Fridays. Dress became exceedingly rich and gorgeous, and the clothes both for men and women became less tasteful and more barbaric in Elizabeth's days. Conspicuous articles of ladies' attire were the *ruff*, an exaggerated collar, towering high above the neck, and the *farthingale*, or hoop, which assumed a ridiculous stiffness and enormous dimensions.

12. Education became wider, and affected larger classes of society. Though the changes in religion resulted in much unnecessary havoc among the schools and colleges that had come down from the Middle Ages, some effort was made to set up new ones in their place, and education was no longer regarded as simply a training for scholars and professional men. A certain amount of culture was demanded from every gentleman and lady. A gentleman was expected to be well read, fond of poetry and music, an expert in fencing and horsemanship, polished in his manner, and elegant in his garb. For an education so comprehensive as this, travel was one of the best schools, and the educated scholar and gentleman made a point of going abroad, particularly to Italy, which was still the traditional centre of European intellectual life. Lovers of old ways complained that many Englishmen got more harm than good from their foreign experience, and denounced the profligacy and irreligion that too often made the "Italianate Englishman a devil incarnate." Travel was facilitated by the better police of the seas that kept down piracy, and within England by the introduction of coaches, which, however heavy and cumbrous they seem to us, were denounced as dangerous luxuries, only permissible to the aged and infirm. Men still mainly made their journeys on horseback, and gentlemen carried arms, partly as a sign of their gentility, but partly as a means of protection against the robbers that infested every highway.

13. Another sign of modern times was the dying out of Gothic architecture, though this took place very slowly. Under Henry VIII. so stately a Gothic building as Bath Abbey could still be erected, while the methods of mediæval construction lingered on, notably at Oxford and Cambridge, until the middle of the seventeenth century. The age of the Reformation did not build churches, but pulled them down, so that it is to domestic and civil rather than to ecclesiastical architecture that we must look if we would study the change of fashion that now came in. Italian influence made itself felt about the middle of the century, though few great houses were erected in the pure Renaissance or Italian style. The gorgeous palaces of Elizabethan nobles were still Gothic in their general outline, but the details and the ornamentation were those which the classic revival had borrowed from Italy. As good examples of this mixed *Elizabethan* or *Jacobean* style, as it is called, we may mention the two great houses of Burghley, near Stamford, and Hatfield, in Hertfordshire, which were erected by William and Robert Cecil. Though the style may easily be criticized as a confused medley of different types, it is picturesque, appropriate, and dignified. The mansions erected in it were much more comfortable to live in than the castles of the Middle Ages.

14. Other arts were less flourishing than architecture. There was a real English school of Church musicians, and the Elizabethan composers could set appropriate music to the delicate lyrics of the best age of English song-writing. Other arts. English painting and sculpture were, however, at a low ebb, as many a bad picture in old houses, and still more numerous stiff and clumsy sculptured tombs of Elizabethan worthies show. Henry VIII., who loved art and splendour, gave pensions to foreign artists, though many of them were not much more skilled in their craft than their English rivals. Some of Henry's foreign artists, however, were men of real distinction. The Italian sculptor, Torrigiano, wrought for him the beautiful effigies of Henry VII. and the Lady Margaret Beaufort, his mother, in the new Henry VII.'s chapel of Westminster Abbey, which is itself one of the glories of sixteenth-century Gothic architecture. The German Hans Holbein spent nearly twenty years in England in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII., and has painted and drawn the men of that age with uncompromising truthfulness and consummate technical skill. Very inferior to this great artist were the commonplace painters who came from Italy and Flanders to portray the worthies of the age of Elizabeth.

15. For the first three-quarters of the sixteenth century the output of good literature in England was not great. But the activity of the numerous printing-presses showed how love of learning and a taste for reading had spread. Early Tudor literature. Poets still followed the fashion set by Chaucer, but it was in Scotland rather than in England that the Chaucerian tradition was most fruitful of good work. The real literary importance of the early part of Henry VIII.'s reign is not so much the actual literature produced as the impulse which men like Colet and More set towards the humanism of the Renaissance. The most notable book produced by this circle of reformers was More's *Utopia*. Though written in Latin, it was, as we have seen, very definitely English in its unsparing analysis of the evils from which our country was then suffering. The next generation saw the effects of the Reformation in such work as Latimer's homely and outspoken *Sermons*, while the habitual use of the various English translations of the *Bible* and of the Edwardian *Book of Common Prayer* did much to set up a high standard of dignified English prose. The fashion of writing became less cumbrous and more direct in the straightforward English, written much after the fashion of homely speech, which came from the pen of the school-master and reformer, Roger Ascham, whose works mark the beginnings of a more modern style of English prose.

16. Towards the end of Henry VIII.'s reign a new school of poets arose, which derived its chief impulse from Italy. At its head were Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, the headstrong lord beheaded by Henry VIII. in 1547, and Sir Thomas Wyatt, the father of the rebel against Queen Mary. The beginnings of Elizabethan literature. This school brought in Italian metres such as the *sonnet* and *blank verse*, and their occasional poems became widely read in manuscript in courtly circles, though they were first printed in Tottel's *Miscellany*, a collection of verses published by a bookseller named Tottel in the reign of Queen Mary. From the issue of this epoch-making collection the new inspiration to poetry began. It was, however, but very slowly that the new spirit made itself generally felt. The first twenty years of the reign of Elizabeth were not much more productive than the generation that preceded them. Then the true Elizabethan literature burst forth with strange suddenness and overwhelming glory, in those days of fierce struggle when England was fighting for her existence against the Jesuits and the Spaniards, when Drake was sailing round the world, and when Gilbert and Raleigh were first dreaming of

an English colonial empire. A wonderful output of the noblest works illustrated the last five and twenty years of the queen's reign, and continued well into the next century. Much of what is most distinctly regarded as Elizabethan was written under James I.

17. The publication of Edmund Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* in 1579 begins the flowering time of Elizabethan poetry, and revealed to the world the greatest poet of the new era. Spenser and the poets. Spenser was soon called away from literary work to take part in the plantation of Munster, whence, after twenty years of prosperity, he was driven out by the last Desmond rebellion, to die ere long in London, poor and disappointed, but never neglected. His great unfinished epic, the *Faerie Queen*, written in Ireland, and published in 1589 and 1598, sets forth in the richest and most musical of verse all that was best in the spirit of the English Renaissance—imagination, chivalry, love of beauty, enthusiasm for knowledge, delight in allegory, mystery, adventure, and fairy tales, burning devotion to England and her queen, earnest moral purpose, and fierce hatred of the pope and Spain. Spenser's work stands alone, but some share of his poetic spirit was reflected in a crowd of lesser writers. His love-sonnets increased the fashion for long *sonnet cycles*, which had already obtained much vogue through the following of foreign examples, and through the sonnets wherein Spenser's friend and patron, Sir Philip Sidney, described his unhappy love for Stella. This tendency reached its supreme height in the wonderful sonnets of Shakespeare. Nothing, however, better shows how the spirit of poetry was in the air than the grace and spontaneity of many a nameless lyric that can be found in the song-books and plays of this great age.

18. Most of all is the spirit of the Elizabethan period reflected in the development of the dramatic literature, which is its special glory.

The mediæval taste for mysteries and moralities had spread among the people a great taste for shows and theatrical entertainments, which, inspired by the classic spirit of the Renaissance, found a new outlet in representations of Latin plays by scholars at the universities and Inns of Court, and finally led to their imitation in English. At last the rude beginnings of a more national English drama began to appear, and as the taste for their representation grew, regular theatres were opened in which plays could be acted. In 1576, James Burbage, the first famous Elizabethan actor, opened the first building set apart for dramatic performances at Shore-ditch, just outside the city of London. It soon had many rivals

and successors, of which the best known was the *Globe* theatre in Southwark. These Elizabethan playhouses were but rude structures, built of wood and roofed with thatch at the sides. They were exposed in the centre to the weather, except on the side of the stage, where the wealthy patrons of the drama sat on stools among the actors, while the ordinary spectators stood in the exposed pit, and the few ladies who ventured to be present, hid themselves away masked, in boxes ranged round the covered sides of the house. Performances took place in the afternoon, and Sunday was the favourite day for them, though the Puritans looked askance on this violation of the sabbath as well as at the reckless profligacy of many of the actors, and the lax morality of many of the pieces. There was hardly any scenery and properties, though the actors often wore rich dresses. Boys acted women's parts, which were, however, but few as compared with the number of male characters. Though there was little money to be got by writing plays, successful managers and actors were able, with prudence, to make a fortune.

19. The opening of public theatres soon brought about a wonderful change in the quality of the pieces performed in them. A group of young men who had acquired a taste for Marlowe and the drama at the universities, settled down in London, the early where they lived riotous lives and wrote plays which, ^{dramatists.} with much bombast and crudity, revealed real fire and action and a vein of true poetry. The great age of the drama began when Christopher Marlowe, the most gifted of the band, produced his *Tamburlaine the Great* in 1587. In Marlowe's short, riotous, and tragic career the first stage of Elizabethan tragedy reached its height. Cut off in a tavern brawl before he was thirty, he had left work behind him whose force and passion gave him a permanent rank among the great poets of the world.

20. About the time that Marlowe wrote *Tamburlaine*, William Shakespeare, a youth of two or three and twenty, left his home and family at Stratford-on-Avon and went to London to Shake- push his fortunes. He soon found profitable employ- ment in working up old plays for representation, and his school. before long, inspired largely by Marlowe's genius, began to attempt original flights of his own. After essays at fantastic and boisterous comedy, his fervid love tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet*, and his stirring patriotic dramas from English history, secured for him a foremost position in his craft, while the *Merchant of Venice*, produced in 1594, a few months after Marlowe's success, first demonstrated the full extent of his powers. Shrewd, businesslike, and

thrifty, he had attained before Elizabeth's death a competent fortune, a high social position, and a reputation quite unique among his contemporaries. His profound knowledge of the human heart, his breadth, naturalness, and self-restraint, his deep passion, abundant humour, ripeness of judgment, and wonderful command of the mother tongue, stand by themselves in all literature. Round him gathered a great school of dramatists, whose work, attaining its climax under James I., slowly decayed under his successor, until the great civil war brought it to an end.

21. Elizabethan prose did not attain the level of Elizabethan poetry or the drama. There were few received standards of prose composition, and the force and spirit of the age were Elizabethan half hidden away by the quaint conceits and tangled prose. and inartistic periods of many able writers. Richard Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, which raised ecclesiastical pamphleteering into sound and dignified literature, and Sir Francis Bacon's famous *Essays*, first published in 1597, were the greatest masterpieces of Elizabethan prose. The patriotic impulse of the age was reflected in the large output of historical work, of which Holinshead's *Chronicles*, from which Shakespeare derived so much of his history, are a conspicuous example. A feature of the time was the extensive literature of travel and adventure, foremost among which was Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations of the English Nation* (1587), wherein the simple narration of the great deeds of the Elizabethan seamen brings home vividly to us the close connection between the life and the literature of the time. It was the richest, fullest, and most heroic period of English history.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR THE FURTHER STUDY OF THE PERIOD
1485-1603

Gairdner's *Henry VII.*; Creighton's *Wolsey* (both in Macmillan's *Twelve English Statesmen*); Brewer's *Reign of Henry VIII.* (to the fall of Wolsey); Pollard's *Henry VIII.* and the *Protector Somerset*; Froude's *History of England from the fall of Wolsey to the death of the Armada* (12 vols.), brilliant, prejudiced and inaccurate, but of value for the reign of Elizabeth; Creighton's *Queen Elizabeth*; Seeböhm's *Protestant Revolution (Epochs of Modern History)*, useful for foreign relations in the early sixteenth century. For ecclesiastical history, Gairdner's *History of the English Church from Henry VIII. to Mary*; W. H. Frere's *History of the English Church under Elizabeth and James I.*; and Perry's *Reformation in England* (*Epochs of Church History*). More's *Utopia*, R. Robinson's translation, Harrison's *Description of England*, and Payne's *Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen* illustrate important aspects of this period. The chapters on England in the *Cambridge Modern History* present in a succinct form the facts of our history from 1485 onwards; more details are in *Pol. Hist. of England*, vol. v., 1485-1547, by H. Fisher, and vol. vi., 1547-1603, by A. F. Pollard.

GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF TUDOR

EDWARD III.

John of Gaunt,
m. Catharine Swynford.Owen Tudor, m. Catharine of France,
daugh. of Charles VI.,
and widow of
Henry V.John Beaufort,
earl of Somerset.John Beaufort,
duke of Somerset.Jasper Tudor,
earl of Bedford.Edmund Tudor, m. Margaret Beaufort,
earl of Richmond.

HENRY VII., 1485-1509, m. Elizabeth of York.

(2) HENRY VIII., 1509-1547.

(1) Arthur,
prince
of Wales,
d. 1502.

(3) Margaret,
m. (1) James IV.
(Stewart)
of Scotland,
(2) Earl of Angus.

(4) Mary,
m. (1) Louis XII. of France,
(2) Charles Brandon,
duke of Suffolk.

EDWARD VI., 1547-1553.

MARY, 1553-1558.

JAMES VI., 1567-1603.

JAMES VI. of Scotland and I. of England.

(illegitimate) James Stewart, earl of Moray.

Mary Queen of Scots, m. Henry Stewart, earl of Darulcy.

(1) James V. of Scotland.

(2) Margaret, m. earl of Lennox.

Frances, m. Henry (grey), duke of Suffolk.

Lady Jane Grey, m. Lord Guildford Dudley.

Lady Catharine Grey.

Lord Beauchamp.

BOOK VI

THE STEWARTS (1603-1714)

CHAPTER I

JAMES I. (1603-1625)

Chief Dates :

- 1603. Accession of James I.
- 1605. Gunpowder Plot.
- 1607. Plantation of Virginia.
- 1610. Plantation of Ulster and Dissolution of James' First Parliament.
- 1614. The Addled Parliament.
- 1618. Execution of Raleigh and Beginning of Thirty Years' War.
- 1620. Voyage of the *Mayflower*.
- 1621. Fall of Bacon.
- 1624. War with Spain.
- 1625. Death of James I.

1. THE house of Stewart, which had been reigning over Scotland for more than two hundred years, mounted the English throne at

the death of Queen Elizabeth. Its accession to the throne meant much more than is ordinarily involved in the change of one dynasty for another. The peaceful union of the rival monarchies of England and Scotland was a great thing in itself; and it became

more important since James I., the new king, was very anxious to make the union as complete as he could. He saw that the personal union of the two crowns under the same king was not enough. As long as England and Scotland remained two countries with different laws, institutions, and traditions, and even with different customs as to the succession, the feeble tie of a common monarch might be snapped at any moment. He therefore assumed the title of *King of Great Britain*, and strove to build up a single state out of the two very different lands over which he ruled. Though he had grown up to middle life as king of Scots, and in most ways never

ceased to be a thorough Scotchman, James's long experience made him realize how much better off was the powerful English monarch than the weak king of Scots, the puppet of his nobles and the Puritan clergy. His idea of union was, therefore, to make Scotland as much like England as possible, and his old subjects soon resented the way in which he preferred English to Scottish fashions. He set this policy to his successors, and all the Stewart kings more or less embroiled themselves with their own country in their efforts to bring English fashions into the northern realm. For this reason the Scots disliked further attempts at union. But the English were little better pleased with them. They were quite contented with things as they were, and had no love for change. Moreover, they were suspicious lest a race of Scottish kings should upset the good old English constitution in favour of their northern fellow-countrymen and to the loss of the native-born English subjects. While, therefore, James, inspired by his solicitor-general, Sir Francis Bacon, hopefully anticipated the time when the two lands should have one parliament, one law, one Church, and one nation, his parliament looked with distrust on his plans. The result was that James only ventured to ask his parliament for a very little. He was content to demand that Englishmen and Scotchmen should no longer be treated as foreigners in each other's country, and that there should be freedom of trade between the two nations.

2. In 1607 the House of Commons rejected both these proposals. The only step towards union which James could secure from the English side was a decision of the judges that all Scotsmen born after his accession to the English throne possessed the full rights of English citizens. He had more success in assimilating Scottish institutions to those of England. In 1610 he restored bishops to the Scots Church, though they had little power. In 1618 he imposed on the Scots the *Five Articles of Perth*, which introduced into Scotland some of the ecclesiastical ceremonies and Church holidays which prevailed south of the Tweed. These measures excited deep antagonism among the fiercely Presbyterian Scots. With such strong suspicions on both sides of the border, it was easy to understand why a full union of England and Scotland was still a hundred years off.

3. The moment of James's accession had witnessed the completion of the Tudor conquest of Ireland, so that James ruled Ireland as fully as Great Britain, and was thus the first monarch

Failure of
James's pro-
jects for
more com-
plete union.

of the three kingdoms. The Irish remained bitterly discontented with English and Protestant rule, and were only kept down by main force. In 1607 the earl of Tyrone strove once more to attack the English power, and, failing utterly, fled from Ireland. His estates and those of his friends were declared forfeited for treason, and in 1610 Sir Arthur Chichester, James's deputy, divided the forfeited lands among English and Scottish settlers, and thus carried out the famous *plantation of Ulster*. This had more permanent success than the Elizabethan plantation of Munster. Though the wild west of Ulster still remained fully Irish, eastern Ulster became the home of a vigorous and energetic English-speaking and

The completion of the conquest of Ireland.

The Plantation of Ulster, 1610.



The shaded part shows the Protestant districts in Ireland, which resulted from James I's Plantations.

IRELAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Protestant population. Henceforth the Ulster settlers remained as a Protestant garrison in Ireland. Though this immensely

strengthened the English power, it brought new difficulties with it. The Irish problem became more complicated, since side by side with the old Catholic and Celtic Ireland a new Protestant and Saxon Ireland was created. Bitterly hating the aliens who persecuted their religion and robbed them of their lands, Celtic Ireland sullenly waited for the hour of vengeance.

4. James I.'s reign saw the first establishment of new Englands beyond the sea, as well as extension of English influence over the three kingdoms of Britain. The impulse towards expansion which had inspired both the Irish plantations, and the failures of Gilbert and Raleigh in America, now led to the first successful establishment of English colonies beyond the Atlantic. In 1607 *Virginia* was settled by a small band of emigrants, who named their first settlement *Jamestown* in honour of the English king. At first they suffered terribly from disease, famine, and the constant attacks of the Indian tribes, but these were successfully overcome, and as the colony grew in numbers and strength it received a free constitution with a *House of Burgesses* like the House of Commons at home. A few years later Lord Baltimore, a Catholic nobleman, established *Maryland* immediately to the north of *Virginia*, receiving in 1632 a charter from Charles I., which made him supreme lord of the whole settlement. *Maryland* was the first *proprietary colony*, controlled by a great landlord. In 1625 the settlement of *Barbados* was the first step towards the establishment of English plantations in the West India islands. The settlers were not willing to do hard work themselves. The land was divided into great estates and plantations, whose proprietors cultivated tobacco, sugar, and other products of warm climates. For long they had much difficulty in obtaining labour, but at last fell back upon the labour of negro slaves, imported from Africa and compelled to work for their masters.

Beginnings
of English
colonies.

Plantation
of *Virginia*,
1607,

and *Mary-
land*, 1632.

5. Other colonies arose in the colder regions to the north of *Virginia*, which received the name of *New England*. The first of these settlements owed its origin to a little band of English separatists, who, finding it impossible to worship God after their own fashion in England, resolved to seek freedom in the wilderness beyond the Atlantic. In 1620 a little band, afterwards called the *Pilgrim Fathers*, sailed in a small ship called the *Mayflower* from Southampton. They settled near Cape Cod, and called their new

The plan-
tation
of *New
England*,
1620-1629.

home *Plymouth*. Soon larger settlements arose round them, the first and chief of which was *Massachusetts*, established in 1629, with Boston as its capital. Many other small colonies were planted in New England under Charles I. The New England colonies formed a class by themselves, and were soon clearly marked off from the southern plantations. They became a land of yeoman proprietors, farmers, fishermen, and traders, with neither a wealthy planter aristocracy nor a large population of slaves. They lived a free and strenuous but somewhat hard and narrow life, prizing their democratic institutions and their Puritan faith, and persecuting those who did not hold their religion. In *Massachusetts* no one could be a citizen who was not a member of an Independent church, but another of the colonies, *Rhode Island*, practised from the beginning complete religious toleration. *Virginia* and the *West India Islands* generally accepted the doctrines and worship of the English Church. Their planter-aristocracies were quite as jealous of freedom as was the Puritan democracy of New England. Both types of colonies soon began to thrive exceedingly. By the middle of the seventeenth century their success ensured the extension of the English race and tongue over the greater part of the eastern seaboard of North America. It is through these first pioneers that the foundations of a world-wide "Greater Britain" were laid.

6. James I.'s reign witnessed an expansion of English trade corresponding with the growth of English colonization. Here, as with the plantations, the Elizabethan impulse achieved its greatest results after the queen's death. After the conquest of Portugal by Philip II., the Dutch robbed the Spaniards of much that remained of Portuguese commerce and empire in the East. Their success inspired English adventurers to follow in their footsteps, and in 1600 Elizabeth gave a charter to the English *East India Company*, which at once entered into rivalry with the Dutch merchants. Soon commercial antagonism sharply divided two nations which common religion and common hostility to Spain had hitherto closely united. The struggle was sharpest in the archipelago of further India, then called the *Spice Islands*, because the centre of the lucrative spice trade. Its most striking incident was the massacre by the Dutch, in 1623, of the English settlers in the little island of *Amboyna*. In India itself the English merchants soon obtained a stronger position than the Dutch. They obtained grants of factories or

The begin-
nings of
the East
India Com-
pany, 1600.

The Am-
boyna
massacre,
1623.

trading settlements from the *Mogul* or Mohammedan emperors who in those days ruled over the greater part of India. The first of these to become important were *Surat*, set up in 1612, and *Madras*, established in 1639. Other English trading settlements were made on the west coast of Africa, where also Dutch competition was keen. After the Dutch settled at the Cape of Good Hope as a good halfway house to India, the English East India Company founded an intermediate station of its own in the island of *St. Helena* in 1651. Thus the same generation which saw the origin of our colonies saw the rise of our commerce with remote lands, and the faint beginnings of our modern empire in the East. For all these reasons, our history can no longer be limited to the story of the British Islands after the accession of the Stewart kings.

7. England itself saw great changes under Stewart rule. The land had outgrown the need for the Tudor despotism. The parliament of the active and energetic England of these days was no longer content to follow the lead of the kings, and thus the great event of the Stewart period is the century of struggle between the king and the House of Commons, which only terminated when parliament had secured its control over the crown. The accession of a foreign race of kings with narrower sympathies, less knowledge of English ways, and less broad intelligence than the Tudors, precipitated and intensified the contest. Yet even if rulers as strong as Elizabeth had been given to England, the contest would have been inevitable.

The
Stewarts
and Parlia-
ment.

8. James I. was ill adapted to deal with the situation that he had to face in his new kingdom. He was able, well-educated, and the most scholarly king of his time. He was good tempered, kindly, and honestly loved peace and moderation. But he had formed all his habits before he came to England, and never really understood English ways. He was very conceited and obstinate, and was destitute of the royal bearing of his predecessor. Lazy, vacillating, and procrastinating, he preferred to live in retirement in the country, amusing himself with hunting and study, and loving to shift the hard work of government on to his favourites and ministers. Yet he was proud of his statecraft, and delighted to dogmatize on the divine right of kings and the sin of opposing the Lord's anointed. He was shrewd enough, however, to take broader views of many questions than the majority of his subjects. Yet even when his policy was right he was unable to carry it out effectively.

Character
of James I.

His worst fault was his incurable habit of distinguishing between his own interests and those of his subjects.

9. James's general idea was to follow as closely as he could the policy of Elizabeth. But he neither fully understood his predecessor's aims, nor was he able to give effect to his intentions. He was wise enough, however, to continue the ministers of Elizabeth in office, and Sir Robert Cecil, made earl of Salisbury in 1605, remained chief adviser to the crown, and carried on, until his death in 1612, the traditions of Elizabethan statecraft. Cecil's continuance in power drove his enemies into a series of plots to overthrow him. Chief among these was the *Main Plot* as it was called, whose instigator was Lord Cobham. Another conspiracy was the *Bye Plot*, a foolish scheme of a Roman Catholic priest named Watson, to keep James a prisoner until he gave freedom to the Catholics and made the plotters his chief advisers. Both designs were easily discovered, and the chief conspirators were punished. Among them was Sir Walter Raleigh, a known enemy of Cecil, whose condemnation was only secured by very doubtful measures. Raleigh was not, however, executed, but kept a close prisoner in the Tower with the death sentence still hanging over his head.

10. James's continuation of Elizabeth's policy provoked bitter discontent among both Puritans and Roman Catholics. The Puritans who had long suffered severely from Whitgift's persecution, had hoped great things from a Presbyterian king. On his way to London, a large number of Puritan clergy presented to him what they called the *Millenary Petition*, which begged for a relaxation of the ceremonies so much disliked by the Puritans. James fell in with their wishes so far as to hold a conference between the two parties in the church at Hampton Court, in 1604. Proud of his theological learning, the king took a leading part in the debates and showed bitter hostility to the Puritans when he realized that they wanted to introduce the Scottish system into England. "Scottish Presbytery," he declared, "agreeth as well with monarchy as God with the devil" Under such circumstances, nothing important came of the Hampton Court conference. A few changes were made in the Prayer-book, but they gave no satisfaction to the Puritans. The only solid result was the ordering of a new translation of the Bible. This led to the *Authorized Version of 1611*, which soon, through its merits, became the single translation used by English-speaking Protestants.

11. When Whitgift died in 1604, Bancroft, who was bishop of London, and had taken the chief part in opposing the Puritans at Hampton Court, became his successor. He was one of ^{Archbishops} the first Protestant divines to teach that a Church ^{Bancroft} without bishops was no Church at all, and he dealt ^{and Abbot.} as severely with the Puritans as Whitgift had done. His successor, Archbishop Abbot (1610 to 1633), inclined to Puritan views, but he gradually lost all influence at court, and the main current of Church opinion was setting steadily against him. A new school of churchmanship now arose, whose leader was the saintly Bishop Andrewes of Winchester, and whose most active partisan was William Laud, who became bishop of London. They were called *Arminians*, because they followed the Dutch professor Arminius in rejecting the Calvinistic doctrine of *predestination*. They also believed in the necessity for bishops, held the doctrine of the Real Presence, loved elaborate ritual in divine worship, and claimed continuity with the Church of the Middle Ages. The rise of this school further embittered the lot of the Puritans.

12. The Roman Catholics expected great things from the son of Mary Stewart, and James, who was more tolerant than most rulers of his time, made himself unpopular with rigid ^{The Gun-} Protestants by his unwillingness to send priests to ^{powder} the scaffold. He made no attempt, however, to alter ^{Plot, 1605.} the severe laws against the Catholics, and many still suffered for their faith. In despair of lightening their lot by peaceful means, a band of Catholic enthusiasts turned to treason. Headed by Robert Catesby, a Warwickshire gentleman, a knot of recusants formed a plot to blow up the king and parliament with gunpowder on the occasion of the meeting of parliament on November 5, 1605. Guy Fawkes, an old soldier in the Spanish service, became the chief instrument of the conspirators. Some cellars were hired under the House of Lords; there explosives were hidden, which Fawkes was to fire when the king opened the Houses on November 5. At the same moment the Catholic gentry of the Midlands were to be collected at Dunchurch, near Rugby, on the pretext of a hunt, in the hope that on the news of the London catastrophe they would seize the king's daughter Elizabeth, who was living in the neighbourhood, make her queen, and bring her up as a Catholic. Cecil's spies unearthed the plot before the meeting of parliament. On November 4 the cellars were searched, the powder discovered, and Fawkes was taken prisoner and severely tortured. Catesby escaped to Warwickshire, hoping still to induce the huntsmen of Dunchurch

to rise in rebellion. Failing altogether in this object. Catesby and a few friends fled further, to Holbeach in Staffordshire, where they were soon surrounded, and, after a hard fight in which Catesby was killed, captured. Besides Fawkes, and the actual conspirators, the persons executed for complicity included Henry Garnett, the *provincial* or head of the English Jesuits. The chief evidence against him was that he had been told of the conspiracy under the seal of confession. The main result of the *Gunpowder Plot*, as it was called, was to frighten the king into carrying out the recusancy laws with more severity than ever.

13. James found great difficulties in dealing with his parliaments. Never practising the severe economy of Elizabeth, he was much more frequently compelled to ask parliament for money, and showed a disposition to bargain with the Commons, which was fatal to his dignity and authority. James and his Parliaments. The Commons severely criticized his harshness to the Puritans, and complained that his foreign policy was not sufficiently Protestant. They distrusted his great plans for change, such as the proposed union with Scotland, and resented his habit of lecturing them on his own dignity and their insignificance. The result was that he was constantly involved in petty disputes with the Commons.

14. James' first parliament met in 1604, and continued its sessions till 1611. In the very first session there were hot disputes about privilege of parliament, and the Commons, instead of giving James a subsidy, offered him plenty of unpalatable advice. There were worse troubles when James, encouraged by a decision of the judges that he might alter taxes on exports and imports without recourse to parliament by virtue of his right to regulate trade, issued what was called the *Book of Rates*, whereby, of his own mere motion, he largely added to the customs-duties. In 1610 parliament denounced the *New Impositions*, as the taxes were called, as a violation of its rights. James and Salisbury chose this moment for submitting to the Commons an elaborate scheme called the *Great Contract*, which was proposed to resign the feudal revenue if the king's debts were paid and his income increased by £200,000 a year. After much time consumed in haggling about details, James dismissed Parliament in 1611 without having obtained its consent to his proposals.

15. For three years James managed to get on without parliamentary grants. He was so poor that he was forced to offer the new hereditary title of *baronet* to any gentleman of position who

would lend him a thousand pounds, and in 1614 was again compelled to face the estates. Before parliament met James negotiated with some prominent members of the last House of Commons, who promised that if he would make concessions and take their advice, they would keep the Commons in a good temper and persuade it to make grants. Those who made this bargain with the king were called the *Undertakers*. They found, however, that parliament, when it met, regarded them as traitors and repudiated their guidance, and took up so fierce an attitude that James dissolved the House before it had passed an act or made a grant. For this reason the parliament of 1614 was called in derision the *Addled Parliament*. After this James did not venture to summon another parliament for seven years.

16. During this period many great changes happened. Salisbury died in 1612, and the same year saw the death of the king's eldest son, Henry, prince of Wales, a youth of promise, whose younger brother Charles became prince of Wales in his place. James was so jealous of yielding up authority, and so conceited with himself, that he thought there was no need for him to have a chief minister to replace Cecil. But he was not hard working enough to control the state as Elizabeth had done, and was so easy-going and good-natured that he soon felt the need of a confidential adviser, who, without having a policy of his own, would save the king trouble by looking after details and taking unpleasant burdens on his shoulders. The result was that royal favourites soon began to wield a dangerous and discreditable influence.

17. The first of James's personal favourites to win much favour was Robert Ker, a good-looking Scot from a fierce Border stock, who, after Salisbury's death, became Viscount Rochester, and wielded an immense influence over his master. Ker was a sulky, obstinate, and ignorant fellow, so dull that he was obliged to depend upon the advice of a clever, arrogant man-of-letters named Sir Thomas Overbury. Rochester's wife was, however, an enemy of Overbury, and contrived to get him shut up in prison, where her agents put him to death by poison. Now made Earl of Somerset, the favourite remained at the height of his power for two years more, though he grew so insolent and ill tempered that even James became tired of him. At last the confession of one of Lady Somerset's accomplices revealed to the world the true story of Overbury's death. Both

earl and countess were tried before the House of Lords, and condemned to death, the countess as a murderess, and her husband as an accessory to her crime. James pardoned the guilty pair their lives, but their fall from power was complete and final. The hideous revelations at the trial did James himself much harm, though he was guiltless of anything worse than weakness and credulity.

18. James soon found a new favourite in George Villiers, the son of a Leicestershire knight, a proud, quick-witted, handsome man, rather shallow and vain, whose head was turned by his success, and who soon became unpopular through his ostentation and overbearing pride. The king's favour made him lord high admiral, and first earl and then duke of Buckingham. All seekers after court favour found it necessary to procure his support, and the gravest and wisest of the king's counsellors owed their advancement to Buckingham's goodwill rather than to their own merits. Laud drove Abbot from James' favour, and with Buckingham's help won the old king over to the Arminians. The great lawyer and brilliant writer and thinker, Francis Bacon, tardily attained the position of chancellor through the patronage of the favourite.

19. Foreign policy, always important, now became the chief concern of James and his ministers. James's general ideas as to English foreign policy were sound and wise, but, as usual, he was not able to carry them out in practice. Like Elizabeth, he loved peace, and thought that each nation ought to settle its religion for itself, so that he was adverse to the popular idea that it was the business of good Protestants like the English to wage war against Spain as the chief enemy of the faith. In 1604 James made peace with Spain, and even sought an alliance with her, though he also strove to continue his predecessor's friendly relations with Henry iv. of France. In 1610 Henry iv. was murdered by a Catholic fanatic, and during the minority of his son and successor, Louis XIII., Henry's widow ruled France in the interests of Spain and the strict Catholic party. Thus Spain got back something of the position she had lost.

20. Spain wished for English support, and James thought it would be an excellent way of proving the real friendship that existed between the two peoples if his son Charles, prince of Wales, were married to the Infanta Maria, the daughter of Philip III. and the sister of his successor, Philip iv. Negotiations for this match were begun in 1616, but almost at the same time

James's eager desire for money led him to listen to a proposal quite incompatible with any real Spanish alliance. Sir Walter Raleigh had in his early years made a voyage to *Guiana*, and brooded in his weary imprisonment over the fancied splendours of that land, where he believed there existed gold-mines of unheard-of richness. He now offered, if released from the Tower, to lead an expedition to gold-mines in *Guiana*, whose produce would make James the wealthiest prince in Europe. The glittering bait was easily swallowed by the king, and in 1617 Raleigh was allowed to sail to South America in quest of the promised mine. He was told, however, that he must on no account molest the Spaniards, the king's allies, and must prosecute his quest entirely by peaceful means. Raleigh readily agreed to all this; but it was quite impossible to him to fulfil his promise, since the Spaniards claimed the whole of the region that he sought to explore, and looked upon his expedition as piracy. Moreover, when South America was reached, the old spirit of lawless adventure made light of Spanish opposition. Raleigh sent his ships up the river *Orinoco*, and when a Spanish settlement blocked the way, his captains attacked and burnt it as Drake or Hawkins would have done. But the Spaniards, soon proved stronger than Raleigh's cowardly and mutinous followers, who, in their fear of the Spaniards, forced their leader to sail home to England. Long before that the loud complaints of the Spaniards had reached James's ears. Gondomar, their ambassador, demanded that Raleigh should be surrendered to Spain to be tried as a pirate, and James was so afraid of provoking the wrath of his ally that he thought the easiest way out of the difficulty was to put Raleigh to death under the old sentence of 1603. This satisfied the Spanish complaints, but English opinion lamented the death of the high-souled adventurer as that of a hero sacrificed by his cowardly king to gratify the bitter hatred of the Spaniards.

21. In 1618 a great religious war broke out in Germany, and soon spread over all Central Europe. Lasting until 1648, it was called the *Thirty Years' War*. It had its roots in the quarrels between the Catholics and Calvinists in Germany, which had long threatened the peace of that country. Its immediate origin was the revolt of the Bohemian Protestants from their new king, the emperor Ferdinand II., the head of the house of Austria, and a bigotted Roman Catholic. Thereupon the Bohemians chose as their king Frederick, the *Elector Palatine of the Rhine*, the leader

Raleigh's last voyage and execution, 1617-1618.

The beginning of the Thirty Years' War, 1618.

of the German Calvinists, and closely connected with England by reason of his marriage to the Lady Elizabeth, James's only daughter. It was hoped that James, who was devoted to his child, would assist his son-in-law against Ferdinand; but James hated war, and above all religious war, and gave Frederick no help. Under these circumstances, Frederick could not long maintain himself. He was first driven from Bohemia, and then from his own hereditary dominions. Though the more strenuous German Protestants supported him, the only result of this was to make the war more general. Bit by bit he lost the Palatinate as well as Bohemia, and his expulsion meant the subjection of Germany to the triumphant Catholics.

22 James had not countenanced Frederick's aggression in Bohemia, and English Protestant zeal had regarded his holding back another proof of his cowardice and want of faith in Protestantism. But the same desire to leave things as they were which had made him reluctant to help his son-in-law in Bohemia, rendered him very anxious to prevent the elector being deprived of his hereditary possessions. English volunteers were permitted to join Frederick's army; but even now James shirked strong measures. He believed that the best way to set things straight was for him to use his influence over his Spanish allies, and thus bring about Frederick's restoration by peaceful means. It was, however, absurd to think that the German Catholics would give up their conquests to please the Spaniards, even if the Spaniards were willing to ask them to do so. As a matter of fact, the Spaniards had no intention of procuring the Elector Palatine's return. They used James as a tool, and encouraged him to resume the negotiations for the marriage of his son with the Infanta, which had broken down on the previous occasion.

23 Spain was delighted to delay matters by treating with England for the prince's hand. But it gradually became clear that Philip would not really accept any marriage scheme unless James promised to give such freedom of worship to his Catholic subjects as the English parliament would never allow. It suited the Spaniards' game, however, to waste time on trivial details, until Buckingham, who ruled Charles as absolutely as his father, persuaded the prince of Wales that the best way to settle the question one way or the other was for him to go to Spain and woo the Infanta in person. Accordingly, in 1623 the prince and his friend made their way to Madrid,

James's
efforts to
restore the
Elector
Palatine,
1622-1623.

Failure of
the Spanish
marriage,
1623.

only to find that the diplomatic difficulties remained as great as ever, and that Spanish etiquette and the Infanta's dislike of a heretic wooer put fresh obstacles in his way. At last he realized that the Spaniards were playing with him, whereupon he went home, brimful of indignation and eager to persuade his timid father to take up arms to restore the Elector Palatine, since the last efforts of diplomacy to effect this object had so signally failed. Charles and Buckingham revenged themselves on Spain by negotiating an alliance with France, which had once more begun to take up a line of its own. It was agreed that Charles should marry Henrietta Maria, sister of King Louis XIII. This proposal was less hated by the English than the Spanish match, but any marriage of the heir-apparent with a Roman Catholic was disliked. Moreover, the French proved ineffective allies, and James's first efforts to send help to his son-in-law were sorry failures.

24 Foreign complications again necessitated recourse to parliament, and James twice more met his estates in 1621 and 1624. His third parliament in the former year assembled at the time when James's slackness in helping Frederick made him unpopular among militant Protestants. James asked for a large supply, though he made it clear that he would not fight if he could help it. He was answered by the Commons refusing to grant him a subsidy until their chief grievances had been redressed. Conspicuous among these were monopolies, which had become even more burdensome than in the last years of Elizabeth. The indignant Commons especially complained of a monopoly for licensing ale-houses, which the monopolists, headed by Sir Giles Mompesson, had used so selfishly as to encourage drunkenness. Mompesson fled from the country, but could not escape condemnation.

James's
third Par-
liament,
1621.

25. The ministers of the crown were also signalled out for attack, chief among them being the lord chancellor Bacon, a stout friend of monopolies. Some aggrieved suitors in the Court of Chancery complained that Bacon had accepted bribes, and that he had given decisions against them. Thereupon the Commons sent up to the Lords the complaints made by the suitors, that they might be judicially investigated. This was the practical revival of the late mediæval custom of *impeachment*, whereby the Commons presented a public offender to be tried by the Lords as judges. Bacon did not seriously defend himself. He declared that he had never given

The fall of
Bacon,
1621.

corrupt judgments, though he acknowledged that he had fallen into the evil system then usual of accepting presents from litigants. He was condemned, deprived of office, and for a short time imprisoned; but James soon released the fallen statesman from the Tower. Bacon died five years afterwards, a disappointed man, though he found in his release from office opportunity for working out some parts of the great schemes for building up a new philosophy which had long amused his leisure.

26. Both in the matter of the monopolists and Bacon, James had given way to the Commons. After granting a subsidy, there

James's
fourth Par-
liament,
1624, and
death, 1625.
was a short prorogation until the autumn, when the same House reassembled. The renewal of the Spanish negotiations disgusted the Commons, who sent a request to James that he should marry his son to a Protestant. James told them it was no business

of theirs, but they replied that they had a right to give advice on any subject. Thereupon James angrily dismissed them. When he next met a parliament in 1624, the breach with Spain had made him popular, but even now there were disputes as to the way the war should be carried on, and the Commons showed their resolution by impeaching the lord treasurer Middlesex, and passing an act declaring that monopolies were already illegal. On March 27, 1625, the old king died.

CHAPTER II

CHARLES I. (1625-1649)

Chief Dates:

- 1625. Accession of Charles I.
- 1628. The Petition of Right.
- 1629. Dissolution of Charles' third Parliament.
- 1633. Laud archbishop of Canterbury.
- 1638. Hampden's Case and the Scottish National Covenant.
- 1640. Meeting of the Long Parliament.
- 1641. Execution of Strafford and the Irish Rebellion.
- 1642. Battle of Edge Hill.
- 1643. Battle of Newbury.
- 1644. Battle of Marston Moor.
- 1645. Battle of Naseby.
- 1648. Second Civil War.
- 1649. Execution of Charles I.

1. CHARLES, prince of Wales, became Charles I. at the age of twenty-five. Handsome, dignified, and serious, he far surpassed his father in all the external graces of his station, but he was without James's shrewdness and wide know- Character
of Charles I. ledge. Though carefully brought up, he had not very great ability, and was curiously slow in thought and action. He could neither think nor speak clearly, and, unable to understand any one else's standpoint, he lived in a dream-world of his own. He was proud, obstinate, and unyielding; yet he had a great difficulty in making up his mind as to any decided course of action. His piety, gravity, love of culture, and care for his friends attracted the devotion of his personal followers, but he was out of sympathy with his people as a whole. His ministers complained that he would never yield them his full confidence, and that it was impossible to tie him down to any fixed policy. His devotion to Buckingham made his people regard him with distrust. His wife, Henrietta Maria of France, was frivolous and intriguing, and her great influence over him was by no means exercised for good.

2. When Charles became king, England was already at war

with Spain. He was so anxious to restore the Elector Palatine and to fight the Spaniards, that he promised large subsidies to

The war with Spain and Charles's first Parliament, 1625. his uncle, Christian of Denmark, who agreed to invade Germany and revive the Protestant cause. The alliance with France would, as he hoped, help both his Spanish and his German designs. Knowing that a Protestant war against Spain and the German Catholics was popular, Charles reasonably expected

that parliament would give him sufficient supplies to enable him to carry out his comprehensive designs with vigour. But when parliament met in 1625, it refused to make substantial grants unless Buckingham were removed from his counsels, and showed an unexpected want of sympathy for his Protestant foreign policy. Charles thought that the Commons had played him false, and angrily dismissed them. Their claim to withhold supplies until his advisers were of their liking seemed to him to be a wanton attack on the king's right to rule the country as he would

3. It was clear that Charles was now likely to be involved in a fierce struggle with his parliaments. A prudent statesman would

Home and foreign policy. have abandoned his foreign designs in the face of the attitude of the Commons. Anyhow, he would have chosen between fighting parliament and fighting the

Spaniards. Charles was too confused a thinker to grasp this point, and resolved to go on with his war whether the Commons helped him or not. This was a course certain to make Charles unsuccessful in both struggles.

4. The war itself was mismanaged, and Charles's finances made fighting on an adequate scale impossible. The French gave him little

The French war and Charles's second Parliament, 1626. help, and an expedition sent from England under Edward Cecil, afterwards Lord Wimbledon, to attack Cadiz, and cut off the American treasure fleet on its way to Spain, proved a lamentable failure. Before long Charles quarrelled with France as well as Spain, and in 1626 was involved in hostilities with his

brother-in-law. Under these circumstances he was again forced to summon the estates. But Charles's *second parliament*, which met in 1626, was as uncompromising as its predecessor. Led by Sir John Eliot, an eloquent Cornish gentleman, the Commons resolved to impeach Buckingham, and Charles soon found that the only way to save his favourite was to dissolve parliament.

5. Charles's foreign policy was already a complete failure. He could do no harm to Spain, and the cause of the Elector Palatine

became hopeless when Christian of Denmark was utterly beaten by the German Catholics in 1626. Christian bitterly complained that the English had broken their promise to help him with men and money, but Charles was quite unable to redeem his word. Nevertheless he now planned an expedition against France, where the revolt of the Huguenots of La Rochelle, then the chief seaport of western France, gave him an opportunity of winning allies among his enemies' subjects. As the Commons would not make him grants, Charles sought to provide money for the expedition by levying a *forced loan* upon all his subjects. The legality of this was more than doubtful, for an act of Richard III. had prohibited all benevolences or compulsory gifts to the crown. The king's lawyers argued, however, that there was no law that prevented Charles borrowing his subjects' money, and great pains were taken to force every substantial Englishman to hand over to Charles the sum which he fixed should be lent to him. Soldiers were billeted on those who refused to pay, and commissions of martial law issued which sought to withdraw the trial of offences wrought by such soldiers from the ordinary law courts. Many persons, including Eliot himself, who refused to comply with the king's orders, were put into prison. Among the prisoners were five knights, who resolved to test the lawfulness of the king's demand by requesting their release from prison by what was called a writ of *habeas corpus*. By this the gaoler was compelled to produce the body of the prisoner before the judges in court, and to specify the offence for which he was detained. If the judges thought that the prisoner was unlawfully kept in prison, it was their duty to order his release. In *Darnell's case*, as this case was called from the name of one of the five knights, the gaoler returned the answer to the writ that the captives were detained by the special command of the king. The judges thereupon ordered their recommittal to gaol, thus practically deciding in the king's favour and admitting that the king could imprison his subjects at his discretion. So little success attended Charles's efforts even after this, that in despair he set the five knights free and summoned another parliament. He at length understood that the only way to help La Rochelle was to obtain a parliamentary grant.

The forced
loan and
Darnell's
case,
1626-1627.

6. Charles's third parliament assembled in 1628. Besides Sir John Eliot, Sir Thomas Wentworth, a Yorkshire landlord, was conspicuous among the leaders of the Commons. Under their guidance the Commons showed a resolute determination to defend

the liberty and the purses of Englishmen from Charles's attacks. Wentworth had no wish to diminish the king's authority, but he distrusted Buckingham and wished to drive him from power. He proposed that a bill should be passed enacting that in the future forced loans and imprisonment without legal warrant should be restrained, but Charles resented the proposal as an encroachment on his prerogative, and Eliot did not think it went far enough. In the end Eliot's counsels prevailed over those of Wentworth, and the Commons sent up to the king a document called the *Petition of Right*, which declared that the recent acts of Charles were already against the law, and in particular denounced as illegal the levying of gifts, loans, or taxes without parliamentary consent, the imprisonment of persons without cause shown, the billeting of soldiers and sailors on householders against their wills, and the issuing of commissions of martial law.

7. At first Charles returned an evasive answer to the *Petition of Right*, but Commons and Lords alike urged that he should say yes or no, and the Commons proposed to renew the impeachment of Buckingham. Fear for his friend soon compelled Charles to yield the royal assent to the petition. Parliament then made him a large grant of money, and went home for the holidays, conscious that it had at last won a complete triumph over the crown.

8. The subsidy of the Commons at last made the expedition to La Rochelle possible. It was high time, for Louis XIII.'s troops had besieged the Protestant stronghold, and unless the English sent a relieving force its capitulation could not be long delayed. Buckingham, who as lord admiral was to command the fleet, went down to Portsmouth to hasten the preparations. There he was murdered by a fanatic named Felton, whose motive, however, was private spite, not political animosity. Buckingham was so unpopular that the mob made a hero of the murderer. Few save Charles lamented the dead favourite. His removal did not, however, result in any improvement in the relations between Charles and his subjects. The king's policy remained the same, and the indignation which had hitherto fallen on the duke now fell directly upon the monarch.

9. In 1629 Charles's third parliament met for a second session, and, despite the *Petition of Right*, began to attack the king more fiercely than ever. The Commons complained that Charles still levied some customs duties, called *tunnage and poundage*, which his

Charles's
third Par-
liament and
the *Petition
of Right*,
1628.

Charles
accepts the
petition,
1628.

Murder of
Bucking-
ham, 1628.

first parliament, rejecting the custom of earlier times which voted the king tunnage and poundage for life, had only granted him for a single year. Charles had thrown into prison a member of the House of Commons who had refused to pay this tax, and the Commons now said that this was an attack on the privilege of parliament to be exempt from arrest. Moreover, Charles had recently promoted to bishoprics and other ecclesiastical preferment divines who belonged to the Arminian party, which was so distasteful to the Puritan Commons. There was soon so complete a breach that the king resolved to prorogue parliament. The Commons shut the door of the House in the face of the king's messenger, and two members, Holles and Valentine, held down in his chair the timid Speaker, who had sought to end the sitting. Amidst stormy scenes the Commons voted, on Eliot's motion, that all who introduced Arminianism, or brought in innovations in religion, or paid tonnage and poundage without parliamentary grant, were traitors to the Commonwealth. Then the door was opened, and the king's messenger admitted. The Commons streamed out to receive notice that their session was prorogued, and a few days later parliament was dissolved. Eliot, as the ringleader, was thrown into the Tower, where he died three years later of consumption, aggravated by the rigour of his imprisonment.

Dissolution
of Charles's
third Par-
liament,
1629.

- 4 ~ 10. The first period of Charles's reign ends with the dissolution of his third parliament. The second comprises the eleven years from 1629 to 1640, during which Charles managed to carry on the government without summoning a new one. Five years of strife had shown that the claims of the crown and of parliament were incompatible with each other. The Commons were no longer content to accept the position which had satisfied them under the Tudors. They now demanded supremacy in the state, for they required that the king should change his ministers whenever the Commons were displeased with them. Though the Commons declared that they were only following up ancient precedents, Charles can hardly be blamed for resenting their interference as a new and revolutionary pretension. His predecessors had governed England as they would, and now parliament sought to make his government dependent upon itself. Neither king nor Commons quite saw the real issue. The real truth was that the country had outgrown the old constitution, and that the future could only be settled when it was seen whether king or parliament was the stronger. Two

Charles's
arbitrary
rule, 1629-
1640.

issues were alone possible. If Charles could do without parliaments he could make himself a despot like his brother-in-law Louis XIII. If parliament could beat the king, then the strong monarchy of the Tudors was dead, and the king must henceforth content himself with a mere shadow of his former power. But Charles went on blundering in the old ways, and even during those eleven years never strove to make himself strong and popular, so that the people might trust him rather than the Commons.

11. Charles's first efforts were now to raise enough money to be able to live without parliamentary grants. With this object he practised the greatest economy in all his expenses. He at last saw how impossible it was to fight foreign nations without parliamentary help, and concluded peace with both Spain and France, thus abandoning the unlucky Elector Palatine to his fate. Meanwhile the thirty years' struggle still continued in Germany, when first Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, and afterwards Louis XIII. of France and his great minister Richelieu, stepped in to save the Protestants from destruction. Peace was not made until 1648. Even when at peace Charles found himself hardly pressed to obtain a revenue. He dared not openly break the law and raise taxes of his own authority, but he sought to evade the spirit of the law in all sorts of under-hand ways. His chief care was to revive obsolete royal rights, by which a little money might be made. Thus he increased the customs duties, because as king he had the right to regulate trade, and on the same ground continued to levy tunnage and poundage. He renewed an old custom, called *distrainment of knighthood*, by which the king could fine all gentlemen of landed property who had neglected to get themselves dubbed knights. He strove to increase the limits of the royal forests after the fashion of the Norman kings. Above all, he revived an ancient right, whereby in ancient times the different maritime districts had been required to provide the king with ships, or had been forced to pay instead a money composition, called *ship money*, with which the king might construct vessels for himself. There was, indeed, urgent need for increasing the royal navy, and Charles honestly spent the money he thus got in building ships to protect the shores and commerce of England. He was so encouraged by the success of his scheme, that he soon extended ship money from the coast region to the inland counties. It thus became practically a new tax levied without parliamentary grant.

12. The old opponents of Charles in parliament were much disgusted with ship money, and John Hampden, an able and wealthy Buckinghamshire gentleman, a former member of the House of Commons, and a close friend of Sir John Eliot, refused to pay his quota of the sum demanded from Buckinghamshire to equip a new ship for the king. In 1638 his case was tried before all the judges, who decided by a majority in favour of the legality of the tax. But Hampden's resistance focussed the popular opposition to Charles's pitiful financial expedients. Henceforth ship money was paid with increasing reluctance, and dislike to the king's arbitrary and incompetent government became widely spread.

13. Charles's ecclesiastical policy had still more share in making his rule odious than his attempts to raise money. Even more than Elizabeth and James I., Charles showed himself a bitter enemy of the Puritans, whose cause was the more odious to him since it was so popular with the House of Commons. A friend and disciple of Laud, Charles was a sincere Arminian, and in full sympathy with the new school whose affinities with the Church of the Middle Ages made them so antipathetic to the Puritan Calvinists. Apart from theological preference, however, Charles trusted the Arminian clergy because they were always on the side of the monarchy, and ever anxious to magnify the sacred character and divine commission of a crowned and anointed king. In 1628 he made Laud bishop of London, and in 1633, when Archbishop Abbot died, raised him to the see of Canterbury. Throughout all these years Laud was Charles's most trusted adviser.

14. The new archbishop was a man of learning, high character, and wonderful energy. He was sincerely anxious to improve the condition of the Church, which was still full of abuses and laxity. But he was narrow-minded, meddlesome, and wanting in tact, and as incapable as Charles himself of understanding the temper of people who differed from himself. His respect for antiquity and his martinet's sense of discipline made Laud regard rigid conformity and unity in ceremonies as equally important with the maintenance of morality and religion. Under Abbot the Puritan clergy had been permitted to be somewhat lax in regard to ceremonies, and Laud now made it his chief care to establish a higher standard. The nonconforming clergy were ruthlessly driven from their cures, and severity naturally added considerably to the hitherto scanty ranks of the

separatists. Preachers were forced to read Common Prayer before giving their sermons, and even foreign Protestants were compelled to use the Prayer-book. It was required that the communion tables should be placed at the east end of the churches, and fenced with rails to keep them from profanation. Puritans, who regarded Sunday as a Christian sabbath, were scandalized when Laud caused to be read in churches a proclamation recognizing *lawful sports*, such as archery and dancing, after service on Sunday. The indignant Puritans were convinced that their enemy was aiming, in league with the Roman Catholics, at the subversion of Protestantism. The Catholic surroundings of the queen, even the tolerance that refused to butcher Catholic priests as Elizabeth had done, were regarded as further proofs of the disloyalty of king and archbishop to the Reformation.

15. For a time all opposition was stilled. Laud strove to revive and extend the power of the Church courts, which continued to exercise intolerable tyranny over all men. Great offenders were punished by the court of High Commission. It was by extraordinary courts of this type that Charles as well as Laud found their chief means of enforcing obedience. The Star Chamber made itself odious by the severity of its punishments, the secrecy of its proceedings, and its absolute deference to the wishes of the government. A Scottish physician, named Alexander Leighton, was imprisoned, flogged, and cropped of his ears for writing a book against bishops. William Prynne, a learned lawyer and antiquary, was put in the pillory, mutilated, and imprisoned for libelling the queen, because in writing a book against stage plays he had reflected on the moral character of actresses, and the queen was fond of acting in masques.

15. Laud believed that he had restored the Church to the great position it had lost at the Reformation. As in the Middle Ages, the clergy began to hold the highest offices of state, and Juxon, bishop of London, a college friend and close ally of Laud, was made lord high treasurer. Among the lay allies of Laud, Sir Thomas Wentworth, now Lord Wentworth, was by far the ablest. We have seen how Wentworth had had something to do with the passing of the Petition of Right and the attack on Buckingham. After Buckingham's death, however, he abandoned his old associates and joined the court party. He was no mere apostate, as has sometimes been thought. He had always upheld the prerogative, for, like Bacon, he believed that he would be more likely to secure the strong government and

comprehensive reforms that he loved from an enlightened king than from the conservative and puritanical House of Commons. Wentworth, however, did not fully enjoy Charles's confidence, for the king was too half-hearted and vacillating for so thorough-going a minister. He employed Wentworth first as president of the council of the north and afterwards as deputy of Ireland. In the latter office Wentworth showed extraordinary vigour and energy, ruling Ireland firmly but roughly, maintaining peace, and improving its agriculture, trade, and material prosperity. He planned a new plantation of Connaught, which would have driven the native Irish from their last retreats. But his masterful ways alienated Irishmen of every class. Wentworth was a great friend of Laud, who shared his views. They called their system of trampling down all opposition *Thorough*, and Wentworth was soon able to boast to the archbishop that the system of "thorough" had been completely established in Ireland. He raised an army in Ireland, which might well some day be useful to extend the reign of "thorough" to Britain.

16. Scotland also was to share with Ireland and England the new system of government, of which Laud and Wentworth were the great exponents. Charles pressed on his father's policy of extending his power over the Scots by Prayer-making Scottish institutions as much like those of England as he could, and, in particular, by assimilating the Scottish Church to the Church of England. In 1633 Charles visited Edinburgh, and was crowned king of Scots. Laud accompanied him, and, by the archbishop's advice, the power of the newly restored Scottish bishops was increased, and a new bishopric was set up in Edinburgh. Surplices were ordered to be worn by the clergy when conducting divine worship. At last, in 1637, a great further step was taken, when a service-book was drawn up for the Scottish Church. The Scots hated all set forms of worship, and looked on the English Prayer-book as popery in disguise. The book Charles now ordered them to use was based upon the English service, and alterations which were made in it, with the professed object of giving the Scots a special book of their own, were all of a character that made it more in accordance with the teaching of Laud and his school than the English Common Prayer. So unpopular was the plan in Scotland that Charles did not venture to get the consent either of the Scottish parliament or of the general assembly of the Scottish Church. It was imposed upon the country by the royal prerogative alone.

17. All Scotland was indignant at the new service-book. When the dean of the new cathedral of St. Giles's in Edinburgh attempted to read prayers from it for the first time, *The National Covenant*, there was a riot in the church. All over Scotland 1638. the clergy, still Presbyterian at heart, despite the restoration of episcopacy, refused to use the hated liturgy, and were backed up by the thorough sympathy of their flocks. The nobles, who had hitherto supported the king against the ministers, fell away, and, headed by Archibald Campbell, earl of Argyll, and James Graham, earl of Montrose, made common cause with the clergy in defending Scottish Puritanism and Scottish national rights. Four *tables*, or committees, were set up, representing the nobles, gentry, clergy, and townsfolk, and as Charles had no means of enforcing his will, these committees became for all practical purposes the rulers of Scotland. In March, 1638, Scots of all ranks united in signing what was called the *National Covenant*, whereby they pledged themselves to abhor "papistry" and uproot all traces of its "idolatries," to uphold the king's lawful authority, and to labour to restore the purity of the Gospel as "established before recent novations." It was in vain that Charles abandoned the Prayer-book. A General Assembly of the Church met at Glasgow, and soon showed so mutinous a spirit that the king dissolved it. The assembly declared that the king had no right to interfere with the spiritual freedom of the Church, and went on with its work all the same. It formally abolished episcopacy, and the good will of the whole nation secured that its decree should at once be carried out.

18. Charles thus saw his authority set aside by his Scottish subjects. Being without an army, he had no means of restoring his sway. His only chance was to appeal to the old *The First Bishops' War*, 1639. hatred of the English to the Scots, and raise a force in England by which he might conquer Scotland like a foreign country. But the English saw that the Scots had a common cause with them against the king, and honoured the Scots for showing them the way to resist him. The few troops that Charles could collect were mutinous, ill trained, and had no heart for his cause. Against him the Scots brought together a fine army, many of the soldiers having, like the general, Alexander Leslie, been trained in the art of war when fighting as volunteers for the Protestant cause in Germany. The result was that the *First Bishops' War*, as men called it, which Charles attempted to fight in the summer of 1639, was a sorry failure. Charles, finding

his soldiers would not fight, was forced to sign the *treaty of Berwick*, by which all Scottish grievances were to be settled by a free parliament and general assembly. Perceiving, however, that both parliament and assembly were resolved to insist on the abolition of episcopacy, Charles adjourned their sessions, and again resolved to try the fortune of war.

19. This bold policy required a stronger hand than Charles or his weak ministers possessed. The king therefore recalled Wentworth from Ireland, made him earl of Strafford, and gave him his chief confidence. Strafford was clear-headed enough to see that Charles could only hope to be successful in fighting the Scots by summoning a parliament and throwing himself upon the support of England. Very unwillingly Charles accepted his advice, and again met a parliament in April, 1640. Led by Hampden, the hero of the ship-money struggle, and John Pym, an able and eloquent squire of Somerset, the Commons refused to give Charles any supply unless he first redressed their grievances. This meant changing Charles's whole system of government, a course for which the king was not yet prepared. Accordingly Charles dissolved his fourth parliament when it had sat about three weeks. For this reason it was known as the *Short Parliament*.

20. Despite his failure to get parliamentary supplies, Charles managed somehow to get an army together to fight the Scots in the summer. This time the Scots did not wait for Charles at home, but boldly invaded England, where they were welcomed as liberators. It was in vain that Charles strove to defend the passage of the Tyne against the northern army. After some fighting at *Newburn*, near Newcastle, the English ran away, and the Scots occupied the south bank of the river. Their march southwards was no longer opposed. In October, Charles, again forced to treat, made with them the *treaty of Ripon*, by which he promised to pay the expenses of the army which had beaten him. Next year he signed a permanent treaty that left Scotland in the hands of the Presbyterians. Thus the *Second Bishops' War* was even more disastrous to the king than the first.

21. The need of paying the Scots army brought Charles's embarrassments to a head. He was now obliged to raise a large sum of money, and, fearing to meet another parliament, he called together at York a great council of peers. The lords told him that he must summon a parliament, and, having no other resource, he was constrained to follow their advice.

22. On November 3, 1640, Charles's fifth and last parliament, memorable in our history as the *Long Parliament*, assembled at Westminster. The king was absolutely at its mercy, and the whole of the Commons and a large number of the Lords were bent on reversing the whole of his system of government. The king's ministers were at once attacked. Strafford and Laud were *impeached*, and Strafford, as the more dangerous of the two, was first brought up for trial before the Lords. It was soon, however, found very difficult to convict him of any legal offence. He was charged with treason, but treason, by English law, was treason against the king, and Strafford's real crime was to have served the king too well at the expense of his country. Great efforts were made to prove that a letter of Strafford, in which he urged the king to use the Irish army against the English or Scots, amounted to levying war against the king. This was, however, a most strained and unnatural twisting of the law, and the Lords, the judges of the case, hesitated as to whether it would be accepted. De-
 Meeting of the Long Parliament, Nov., 1640.
 Attainder of Strafford, May, 1641.
 Strafford, spairing of wreaking vengeance on their foe by judicial means, the Commons dropped the impeachment, and borrowed from the worst precedents of Henry VIII., the procedure known as an *act of attainder*. This was simply passing a new law enacting that Strafford should die. It was practically denying to the accused any proper trial, and disposing of him by virtue of the power of a law to do anything. The bill easily passed the Commons, and the Lords were frightened into accepting it by the timely discovery of what was called the *army plot*, an intrigue of a few courtiers to upset the parliament and establish a despotism. Charles was then asked to give the royal assent to the bill. He had promised Strafford that not a hair of his head should be hurt, but, after a pitiful hesitation, gave way. On hearing the king's decision Strafford exclaimed, "Put not your trust in princes." On May 12, 1641, he was beheaded on Tower Hill. Laud was kept in the Tower until there was leisure to proceed against him also.

23. The more satisfactory work of the early sessions of the Long Parliament was the clean sweep which it made of the machinery by which Charles had attempted to play the despot for eleven years. It abolished the Court of High Commission, the Council of the North, the Star Chamber, and the other *prerogative courts*, and released their victims, such as Prynne, who were now hailed as popular heroes. It reversed the unconstitutional decisions of the

Remedial
 measures
 of the Long
 Parliament,
 1640-1641.

judges, such as those in Darnell's case and Hampden's case. It declared ship money, tonnage and poundage, and the new impositions illegal. It passed a *Triennial Act* enacting that not more than three years should elapse without a meeting of parliament. It deprived Charles of his favourite weapon of a dissolution by forcing on him a law that the existing parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent. As with Strafford's impeachment, parliament showed a wonderful agreement in carrying all these measures. The king had no party, and was forced to stand aside while Pym and Hampden, the spokesmen of the representatives of the nation, destroyed his power as they would.

24. Having reordered the government of the State, the parliamentary leaders set to work to provide for the future of the Church. With Pym and Hampden's goodwill a bill was brought forward, called the *Root and Branch Bill*, which proposed to abolish bishops altogether and put the control of the Church into the hands of a commission of laymen. The revolutionary character of this measure had the result of dividing the Long Parliament for the first time into parties. There were still many who loved bishops and the Prayer-book. Such men would willingly have made common cause with Pym and Hampden in getting rid of what were called Laud's "innovations," but their conservative temper made it intolerable to them that the Elizabethan settlement of the Church should be destroyed. Headed by Edward Hyde, a rising lawyer, and by Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, a broad-minded, warm-hearted enthusiast of deep religious feeling, they opposed the Root and Branch Bill. The result was that the second reading was only carried by a small majority. Soon afterwards parliament separated for the vacation.

25. When Parliament scattered Charles went to Scotland. Some of his followers formed a foolish plot, called the *Incident*, which aimed at arresting Argyll and the Presbyterian leaders at the moment when Charles professed the utmost friendship for them. Though Charles denied any knowledge of the scheme, the detection of his friends' treachery brought him much discredit.

26. Still graver suspicion was cast upon Charles when a serious rebellion broke out in Ireland. As soon as Strafford's strong hand was removed, the oppressed Irish burst into revolt against his weak successors. The native Irish in Ulster rose against the Protestant settlers, and Owen Roe O'Neill, the exiled chief of the greatest of the Ulster clans,

The Root and Branch Bill, 1641.

The Incident, 1641.

The Irish Rebellion, 1641.

came back from his exile, and put himself at the head of the rebels. Soon the rising spread to other provinces, and the Straffordian system of "thorough" was soon violently overthrown. Great atrocities were wrought, which were magnified by rumour in England. It was reported that the bloodthirsty Irish had massacred thousands of Protestants in cold blood. The king and his papist queen were denounced as accomplices of the assassins, or as anyhow having given the signal to the revolt by the sympathy they had shown to Roman Catholics.

27. In the autumn of 1641 parliament met again, thoroughly alarmed by the Irish rebellion, and eager to take advantage of every rumour that blackened the king. It drew up a long document, called the *Grand Remonstrance*, wherein it recapitulated all the evil deeds wrought by Charles since his accession. It attributed the root of the mischief to Charles's "malignant design to subvert the fundamental laws and principles of government," and demanded that ministers should be employed who possessed the confidence of parliament, and that the Church should be reformed by a synod of divines. In substance it declared that Charles's concessions counted for nothing, and that parliament would only be satisfied with revolution in Church and state. Hyde and Falkland now mustered those who had opposed the Root and Branch Bill to vote against the Remonstrance. After a hot debate, Pym and Hampden only managed to pass the Remonstrance through the Commons by a majority of eleven.

28. The division of the once united Commons into two nearly equal parties gave Charles a splendid opportunity of winning back a position of influence. The foes of the Remonstrance were a constitutional royalist party in the making, pledged to uphold the existing institutions in Church and state, though equally pledged against arbitrary rule and Laudian innovations. But Charles had no eyes to see how affairs were tending, and his one idea was to win back all that he had lost by taking advantage of the disunion of his natural enemies, the Commons. He made a feeble attempt to conciliate the moderate party by giving office to Falkland, but he immediately afforded damning proof that Pym and Hampden were justified in their incurable distrust of him by a foolish and treacherous attack on the leaders of the majority. On January 3, 1642, he accused Lord Kimbolton and five commoners, among whom were Pym

The Grand Remonstrance, Nov., 1641.

The division of Parliament into two parties.

The attack on the five members. Jan., 1642.

and Hampden, of high treason, on the ground of their negotiations with the Scots, which he regarded as conspiring with the king's enemies. Not content with that, he went down to the House of Commons, and demanded that the five members should be surrendered. Forewarned of the king's designs, the five members had escaped to the City, and Charles was forced to withdraw, amidst angry cries of "Privilege." Thereupon the Commons transferred their sessions from Westminster to the City, whose walls afforded them protection, and whose citizens were ardently on their side.

29. Charles was so completely baffled that, a week later, he abandoned the capital, leaving his palace and all the resources of the state in his enemies' hands. War was now almost inevitable, but efforts to avoid a rupture still occupied the first six months of 1642. Charles made his last concession when he gave the royal consent to a bill excluding bishops from the House of Lords. Soon after the Houses sent up for his approval a *Militia Bill*, which transferred the command of the militia from officers appointed by the king to commanders appointed by themselves. When Charles refused to accept this, the Lords and Commons ordered that it should be carried out as an ordinance of parliament, and were obeyed over a great part of the country. Parliament then formulated their final terms in the *Nineteen Propositions* presented to Charles at York, the effect of which would have been to make him only a nominal ruler. Indignantly rejecting these proposals, Charles raised troops and money on his own account. There had already been collisions between the friends of the king and parliament at Manchester and Hull when, on August 22, the king set up his standard at Nottingham as a signal that civil war had begun.

The rupture
between
King and
Parliament.

30. The *Great Rebellion*, as it was called, saw the division of the nation so equally between king and parliament that the struggle was necessarily long and severe. Despite Charles's recent signs of bad faith, he found a large proportion of the country enthusiastically on his side. Few Englishmen had any real love of revolution, and the uncompromising wish shown by the parliament to alter the whole system of government in Church and State caused many to rally round the king. Nearly all those who had upheld Hyde and Falkland were now on Charles's side, and gradually more than a third of the Commons, and more than half of the Lords, deserted Westminster and joined Charles. Both parties professed to maintain

The Royalist
and Parlia-
mentary
parties.

the old constitution, and many holding almost the same views were found in opposite camps. In the king's favour was the strong personal attachment of his own friends and the stronger feeling of loyalty to the office of monarch. Against him were the errors of his past career and the profound distrust which so many felt of his character and motives. Religion divided the two sides more clearly than politics. Puritanism was the real strength of parliament, and all who loved bishops and Prayer-book, or were afraid of the setting up of a rigid Calvinistic despotism over conscience and liberty, fought for the king. The Roman Catholics were necessarily royalists, since a Puritan triumph meant a renewal of bitter persecutions for the friends of the old Church. There was no clear class division between the parties. Though the majority of the Lords and country gentry were royalists, yet a large proportion of the greater nobles of old standing was opposed to the crown, and the leaders of the Commons were gentlemen of large estate and high social position. It is easier to draw a geographical line between parties, though both sides had representatives everywhere. Roughly speaking, parliamentary preponderance rested on London and the southern and south-eastern shires; while the districts most loyal to the king were the north, Wales, and the south-west. This corresponds very roughly to the older divisions between York and Lancaster, between friends and foes of the Reformation under the Tudors. The more wealthy and progressive parts of the land were for the parliament; the old-fashioned and conservative districts felt more keenly the impulse of loyalty to the crown. Parliament had most resources, and was, in particular, in a much stronger financial position than the king. The royalists were called *Cavaliers*—that is, horsemen or gentlemen; and the Parliamentarians were nicknamed *Roundheads*, from the close-cropped hair affected by the Puritans.

31. Charles soon gained a large following in the Midlands. He appointed the earl of Lindsey to the supreme command, and placed the horse under his nephew, Prince Rupert, the son of Frederick, Elector Palatine, and his English wife, Elizabeth Stewart. Charles's plan was to march southwards on London, the parliamentary headquarters. But the chief parliamentary army, commanded by the earl of Essex, the son of Elizabeth's favourite, followed closely on his heels, and compelled him to fight the first pitched battle of the war at *Edge Hill*, on the borders of Oxfordshire and Warwickshire. Led by the impetuous Rupert, the king's cavalry easily defeated the horsemen

of the enemy, but the parliamentary infantry proved superior to the foot-soldiers of the king. When night fell, Essex withdrew his troops, leaving the king the fruits of victory. Edge Hill Charles thereupon resumed his march to London. On his way he occupied Oxford, and made his headquarters of that city, whose university, inspired by Laud's teaching, was enthusiastically on his side. From Oxford he pushed his way through Reading to London. He got to Brentford, within a few miles of the capital, but dared not venture to fight a pitched battle with the London militia, massed to oppose him on *Turnham Green*, between Hammersmith and Brentford. Winter was approaching, and Charles withdrew from Brentford to Oxford. He was never so near success as when he thus turned back from the suburbs of London.

32. The early part of the campaign of 1643 was decidedly in favour of the king. The main armies, ranged between Oxford and London, did not show great energy, and the most memorable conflict between them was a skirmish between Rupert's horsemen and the parliamentary forces at *Chalgrove Field*, ten miles east of Oxford, where Hampden received his death-wound. His loss was the greater since Pym, the other parliamentary spokesman, died in the course of the same year. The main scenes of fighting were in the north and west, where each side had set on foot independent local armies. In both cases the preponderating feeling of the district was royalist, and in both the royalist cause prevailed. The king's general, the earl of Newcastle, defeated Lord Fairfax and his son, Sir Thomas Fairfax, at *Adwalton Moor*, near Bradford, and conquered all Yorkshire, save Hull. In the south-west the battle of *Stratton* was an equally decisive royalist triumph. Cornwall and Devon were conquered, and the western army finished up its career of victory by marching through Somerset and defeating Sir William Waller at *Roundway Down*, near Devizes, in Wiltshire. Plymouth alone in the west upheld the cause of parliament. Bristol opened its gates, and nothing save the resistance of Puritan *Gloucester* prevented the royalist conquest of the lower Severn valley.

33. The royalists threw all their efforts into the attack on Plymouth, Hull, and Gloucester. Charles himself undertook the investment of the latter place, and soon pressed it so hard that Essex, though a sluggish general, felt forced to attempt to raise the siege. On his approach Charles fled, and Gloucester was thus saved from danger. Essex now made

The
campaign
of 1643.

Royalist
successes.

First battle
of Newbury,
Sept., 1643.

his way back to London, retiring by circuitous roads so as to avoid Oxford. On September 20 he found his return blocked at *Newbury* by Charles's army, and was forced to accept battle. Charles's army was strongly posted on the slopes of a hill, and Essex's men had to advance through narrow lanes and broken ground to the attack. Rupert's impatience at fighting a mere defensive action caused him to risk the day by leading a fierce charge against the enemy. But the steadiness of the London militia resisted his headlong assaults, and when night fell the sturdy citizens still maintained their ground. The royalists suffered such severe losses that Charles, under cover of darkness, retreated to Oxford. Among the royalists slain was Falkland.

34. The relief of Gloucester, and the virtual victory at Newbury, marked the turning-points in the war. Henceforth the royalist successes were stayed, and the year ended without any more decisive action. In one field, the eastern counties, the Puritan cause held its own, even in the darkest days of the war. There was no fighting here, since, on the outbreak of hostilities, the various shires were combined in an organization known as the *Eastern Association*, which set up a well-disciplined army of sturdy Puritans, commanded by the earl of Manchester—who, as Lord Kimbolton, had shared the fate of the five members—and by Oliver Cromwell, a descendant of a Welsh nephew of Thomas Cromwell, and the member for Cambridge town in the Long Parliament. Cromwell was soon the soul of the Eastern Association, which he inspired with his own fierce and determined spirit. Its army conquered Lincolnshire at *Winceby fight* on the same day that Newcastle was forced to relinquish his long siege of Hull.

35. After nearly two years of almost balanced victory, king and parliament now sought to obtain outside support. Fortunately foreign intervention was impossible, since the Thirty Years' War still occupied the attention of the chief nations of Europe. But Charles looked to Ireland and parliament to Scotland for possible assistance. Charles made a treaty called the *Cessation* with the Irish Catholics, which set free Strafford's army to come over and help him, though it once more involved him in the imputation of being a friend of papists. Parliament did a better stroke of business in signing a treaty with the Scots, called the *Solemn League and Covenant*, by which the Scots army was sent to aid the English Puritans on condition of England pledging itself to accept

Cromwell
and the
Eastern
Association.

The Cessa-
tion, and
the Solemn
League and
Covenant.

Presbyterianism, which the Scots believed in so greatly that they would not move a finger to help the English until they adopted it.

36. Early in 1644 fighting was renewed. The army sent from Ireland to aid the king was scattered soon after its landing, but the well-disciplined levies of the Scots joined the Fairfaxes, and soon reversed the previous fortunes of war in the north of England. At last the combined Puritan armies shut up Newcastle and his army in York, which they straightway besieged. Manchester and Cromwell came up to the help of the Scots and Fairfaxes. Soon York was so severely pressed that Charles sent Rupert with the best part of his army to its relief. On his approach the siege of York was raised and the three armies of the parliament took up a position facing northwards on rising ground between the villages of Marston and Tockwith, a few miles west of York, where they awaited the attack of Newcastle and Rupert. Thus was brought about, on July 2, 1644, the *battle of Marston Moor*, the most important battle of the war.

37. The three Puritan armies were posted amidst fields of rye on the low ridge that dominates Marston Moor from the south. Manchester and the Association army held the left, his extreme left being protected by Cromwell at the head of the eastern cavalry and David Leslie with the Scots horse. Lord Fairfax and the Yorkshire infantry were in the centre, while the Scots foot, commanded by Alexander Leslie, now Lord Leven, David's uncle, were stationed more to the right. The right flank was held by Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Yorkshire cavalry. On the other side Rupert stationed his horsemen over against Cromwell, while Lord Goring, with the rest of the cavalry, held the left wing opposite Sir Thomas and his Yorkshiresmen. The infantry was massed in the centre, Rupert's troops being in advance of Newcastle's, which were held in reserve in the rear. The armies faced each other until six o'clock in the summer evening, when Rupert resolved to postpone the attack till next day. Suddenly the parliamentary forces advanced in a late and unexpected assault. Though taken by surprise, the royalists held their own manfully. Soon the tide of battle began to set against the Puritans. Lord Fairfax's centre was cut through, and his son's cavalry fled in headlong panic before Goring's troopers. The fortunes of the day were, however, stayed by the steadiness of Leven's Scottish infantry, who, though isolated by the retreat of the Fairfaxes on both sides of them, held their own with fierce pertinacity. Meanwhile, Cromwell and Rupert had

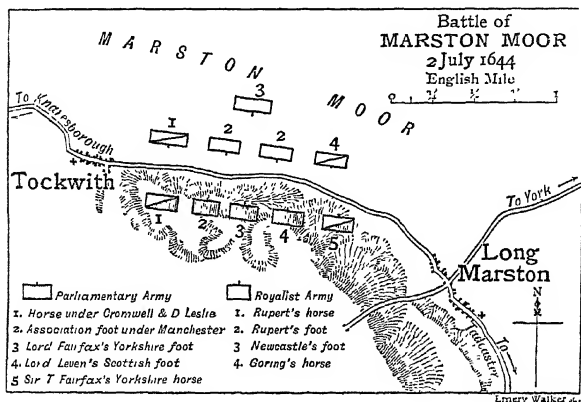
The
campaign
of 1644.

The Battle
of Marston
Moor,
July 2, 1644.



ENGLAND AND WALES DURING THE GREAT CIVIL WAR, MAY. 1643.

crossed swords in the western section of the field. These commanders had already won the reputation of being the ablest generals of cavalry on their respective sides. Meeting each other for the first time, they fought with extreme courage and endurance. For a time Cromwell's heavy horsemen held their own with difficulty against the boisterous onslaught of Rupert. Then a timely charge of David Leslie turned the balance, and Rupert's troopers were soon driven in flight to the north. With great prudence Cromwell desisted from the pursuit, and turned to the assistance of the hotly pressed Scots foot. Manchester's men rallied on witnessing their



comrades' success. Thereupon the whole forces of the Association assailed the royalists on their right flank, and soon won a complete triumph. "God made them," boasted Cromwell, "as stubble to our swords." The royalists were scattered; a day half lost was changed into a great victory, and the whole of the north fell into the hands of the conquerors.

38. Parties were still so well balanced that Marston Moor was not in itself decisive. Essex's army was destroyed by an abortive attempt to invade Cornwall; and later in the year, when Manchester and Cromwell marched south to redress the Puritan fortunes, the sluggishness of the former missed a good chance of victory in the *second battle of Newbury*. But the greatest successes of Charles were

brought about by an unexpected royalist rising in Scotland under James Graham, earl of Montrose. Montrose had acted with Argyll, the Presbyterian leader, in repudiating the bishops and accepting the covenant. But he grew weary of the Calvinistic tyranny and was disgusted at the strong position which Argyll and his allies, the ministers, had attained. Montrose's ideal was that of a constitutional monarchy, ruling through the nobles and gentry, and keeping the clergy and the greater magnates in subjection. Presbyterianism was so strong, however, in Lowland Scotland that Montrose had no chance of winning many followers in the south. After vainly attempting to stir up a rising there, he turned to the Highlands, where he met with a warmer welcome. In the wild north and west of Scotland the Highland clans still maintained their turbulent independence. Every valley was governed by the clan chieftain just as the O'Neills and their fellows had ruled in Ireland until the Elizabethan conquest. Argyll was not only a great Lowland nobleman, but the head of the powerful Presbyterian clan of the Campbells, whose greed and aggressiveness made them hated by all the neighbouring tribesmen. The Highlanders readily rose at the bidding of the foe of the Campbells, and Montrose, with a true soldier's instinct, first led the fierce clansmen into the Lowlands, and made them the arbiters between the contending factions of the south. His appreciation of the military value of the Highlanders brought a new element into the scene which changed the fortunes of Scottish history on at least four occasions within the next hundred years. For the moment he was brilliantly successful. After many minor victories he scattered the Campbells at *Inverlochy*, near Ben Nevis, on February 2, 1645.

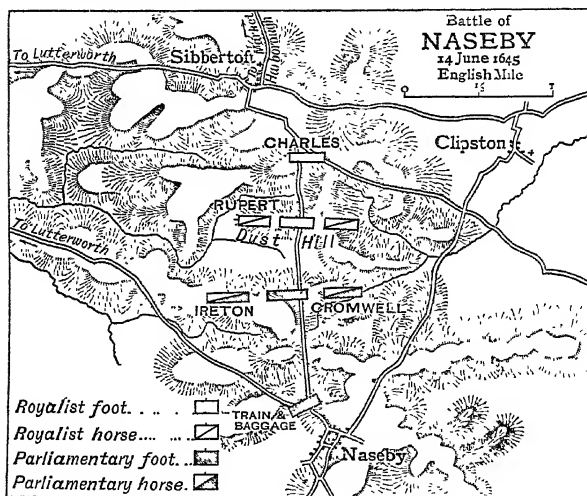
The destruction of Essex's army and the rising of Montrose.

39. The continued successes of the royalists filled the party of the parliament with extreme disappointment. Ardent spirits declared that the failure of the popular cause was largely due to the sluggishness and incompetence of the great noblemen, like Essex and Manchester, to whom the command of the armies had been assigned by reason of their hereditary claims. Others saw a chief reason for ill success in the want of organization and method of the locally raised and independently controlled armies. It was a proof that the extreme men were growing in power, that the aged Laud was attainted and executed early in 1645, a cruel act of vengeance that did nothing save to make peace more impossible. More honourable triumphs were the passing of

The New Model and the Self-Denying Ordinance, 1645. (S)

the *New Model Ordinance*, which welded the armies of the Parliament together in a single whole, with sterner discipline, better organization, and regular pay, and the *Self-Denying Ordinance*, by which members of either House of Parliament were deprived of their commands. This was an ingenious plan for getting rid of Essex, Manchester, and Waller, but it should also have involved the removal of Cromwell. Cromwell was, however, the real inspirer of the new army system, and was thought indispensable. He was made *lieutenant-general*, or second in command, with supreme authority over the cavalry. Sir Thomas Fairfax became general-in-chief.

40. The campaign of 1645 proved the value of the New Model.



After purposeless wanderings in the Midlands, Charles and Fairfax met in battle on the high plateau of *Naseby*, in Northamptonshire, on June 14. As usual, the cavalry on the wings took the chief part in the struggle, but while Rupert on the king's right, after scattering his opponents under Ireton, wasted his time in pursuing the enemy and plundering the baggage train, Cromwell, who easily scattered the royalist left, at once desisted from pursuit, as at Marston, and fiercely

The battle
of Naseby,
June 14,
1645.

attacked the infantry on the royalist centre that had more than held its own in the early part of the encounter. Crushed between Cromwell's troopers and the rallying infantry of the New Model, the royalist centre was soon hopelessly defeated. Before long Cromwell had won a battle even more complete than the fight at Marston Moor.

41. The royalists still struggled manfully, but Montrose in Scotland was the only general who could still win victories for Charles. The Highland host had swept everything before it, but, when the fight was won, the simple clansmen had no thought save to go home and revel on the spoils. Montrose soon found the impossibility of keeping a Highland army long in the field an insuperable obstacle between him and the conquest of Scotland. In despair of his Celtic allies, he once more appealed to the Lowlands, but he was only joined by a few border lairds and their followers. David Leslie returned from England, and had little difficulty in destroying Montrose's little force at *Philiphaugh*, on Ettrick Water, in September, 1645. Montrose fled to the Highlands and thence to the continent. The Covenanters again dominated all Scotland.

Battle of
Philip-
haugh,
Sept., 1645.

42. For nearly a year after Naseby Charles continued the struggle. At last, in May, 1646, seeing that his only choice was between exile and surrender, he rode into the Scots camp, thinking that he might persuade them to uphold him against the English. This the Scots might have done if Charles would have given up episcopacy, but on his refusing their terms, they handed him over to parliament, and went back to their own country. Fortune, however, still favoured the king. If he could not set Scots against English, he soon had a chance of winning back some power by playing off against each other the two factions into which the victorious parliamentarians were now breaking up.

Charles sur-
renders to
the Scots,
May, 1646.

43. Already, during the discussions about the New Model, a strong cleavage had become marked between the moderate men, powerful in the two Houses of Parliament, and the extreme men, who gained the chief positions in the reorganized army. In an age that set religion before politics, these two parties became known as *Presbyterians* and *Independents*. The Presbyterians of the Long Parliament were not zealots for the divine right of Presbytery like their Scots allies, though they had agreed to make the English Church Presbyterian. With the help of the *Westminster Assembly of Divines* they had removed bishops and Prayer-book from the English Church,

Presby-
terians and
Independ-
ents.

and had made it in all things like the Church of Scotland, save that they insisted on maintaining parliamentary control over the Church after a fashion that the Scots thought an impious interference by the secular power with spiritual matters. Even in the Westminster Assembly, however, 'a little knot of *sectaries*, or *Independents*, made their influence felt. Holding the same views as the Brownists of Elizabeth's reign, the sectaries wished to make each congregation a self-governing Church. They thought that the "new presbyter is but old priest writ large," and feared to extend to England the spiritual tyranny set up in Scotland. It followed from their views that they were advocates of toleration, while the Presbyterians were more eager than Laud to impose their tenets upon every one, and stamp out all dissent.

44. The might of Independency lay in the strong and growing hold which it had over the army. When appeal is once made to the sword, the sword naturally has the final settlement of affairs. But the Presbyterian leaders in Parliament and the army. parliament did not realize what an immense authority belonged to the warriors who had fought their battles. Now that the war was over they hoped to disband the army, and were so eager to do this that they did not even pay the soldiers their arrears of pay before their dismissal. This foolish step united the army as one man against the Lords and Commons. The beginnings of opposition arose from the elected representatives of the soldiers, but Cromwell, after some hesitation, threw in his lot with them.

45. Parliament, alarmed by the attitude of the army leaders, began to negotiate with the king and Scots. Thereupon Cromwell sent a few troops of horse to *Holmby House*, near Northampton, where Charles was living, and secured the custody of the king for the army. Charles was respectfully treated by the soldiers, who offered him better terms than the Scots or parliament had done. He might even continue episcopacy so long as none were forced to obey the bishops' jurisdiction. But Charles, as usual, shirked taking up a straightforward line. Deceived by the anxiety which both parties had shown to get him on their side, he thought he was still strong enough to play off one against the other, and ultimately win back his old position. His incurable vacillation and lack of faith soon convinced the soldiers that no trust could be placed in him. While professing to listen to the army terms, he signed a secret *Engagement* with the Scots, in which he promised to set up Presbyterianism for three years and put down heresy—that

Charles's
intrigues
with both
the army
and the
Presby-
terians.

is, Independency. In deep disgust the Independent leaders resolved to have no more to do with the treacherous king. An unsuccessful attempt at escape gave them the pretext for keeping him, under restraint for the first time, at Carisbrooke Castle, in the Isle of Wight.

46. In 1648 the English Presbyterians joined hands with the Scots against the army. The result was the *second Civil War*, in which a Scottish force advanced through Cumberland and Lancashire to restore the king, while Presbyterian Kent and Essex, where there had hitherto been no

The second
Civil War,
1648.

fighting at all, rose in revolt against army rule. Fairfax soon crushed the rising in the Home Counties by the capture of *Colchester*, while Cromwell fell upon the Scots and signally defeated them in a series of fights between *Preston* and *Warrington*. All England was now at the mercy of the New Model army, controlled by fierce fanatics, who were weary of compromise and intrigue, and felt a divine call to govern England after their own fashion.

47. Parliament still timidly upheld the Presbyterian position, and tried to renew negotiations with the king. On December 6, 1648, Colonel Pride went down to Westminster and drove out the Presbyterian members of the House of Commons. The minority of Independents, soon derided as the *Rump*, was allowed to sit, but these men were puppets in the hands of the soldiers. The army now demanded that Charles should be brought to trial as guilty of the unnecessary bloodshed of the second Civil

The triumph
of the Inde-
pendents,
Dec., 1648,
and the
execution of
Charles I.,
Jan., 1649.

War. The little knot of Independent peers shrank from so violent a policy, whereupon the Commons resolved that as representatives of the people they had power to act by themselves. A *High Court of Justice*, of which John Bradshaw was the president, was then set up to try the king. Though barely half the members nominated were willing to sit, Fairfax the general being himself among those who refused, the resolute fanatics resolved to hold their court. Charles, brought before it, declared that no tribunal of subjects had a right to sit in judgment on its sovereign. This plea was disregarded, and, after a mere pretence of a trial, the king was condemned to death on January 27 as a murderer and a traitor. On January 30 he was beheaded outside the Banqueting House of his own palace of Whitehall. In the presence of death the better side of Charles's character asserted itself. He died with such piety, patience, and meekness that the incurable errors of his life were forgotten in the pity excited by his death, and he was revered as a martyr to Church and constitution.

CHAPTER III

THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE (1649-1660)

Chief Dates:

- 1649. Establishment of the Commonwealth; Cromwell's victories in Ireland.
- 1650. Battle of Dunbar.
- 1651. Battle of Worcester.
- 1652. War with the Dutch.
- 1653. The Instrument of Government.
- 1655. Conquest of Jamaica.
- 1657. The Humble Petition and Advice.
- 1658. Death of Cromwell.
- 1659. Fall of Richard Cromwell.
- 1660. Convention Parliament and Declaration of Breda.

I. AFTER the execution of Charles I., the Rump, disregarding the claims of his son Charles, prince of Wales, abolished both monarchy and House of Lords, and resolved that henceforward England should be a Republic, or *Commonwealth*, ruled by a House of Commons only. The carrying out of the laws was entrusted to a new *Council of State* of forty-one persons, which was to take the place of the Privy Council. The next thing to follow naturally would have been the dissolution of the Rump, and the holding of a general election; and the army, the real source of the Rump's authority, was anxious that this step should be effected without delay. However, the Rump clung to power, and feared lest a freely elected parliament should sweep away the new constitution. Its ideal was a republican aristocracy, such as that of Holland or Venice, maintaining good order, and upholding religious toleration for all sorts of Puritans. For more than four years it was suffered to go on ruling England. Its real masters, the soldiers, had plenty to do during that period in defeating their enemies in Scotland and Ireland, and in teaching foreign states to respect the young republic.

2. Even in England troubles beset the infant commonwealth. The royalist party was inspired with new life by the pity felt for the fate of Charles I. A little book called, *Eikon Basilike*, or the *Kingly Image*, which professed to contain the prayers and meditations composed by the martyr before his execution, was so eagerly read and admired that John Milton, the poet, now secretary to the council of state, wrote an answer entitled *Eikonoklastes*, or the *Image-breaker*. An even greater peril came from the more turbulent spirits called the *Levellers*, who thought that the army leaders had not gone far enough, and insisted upon the immediate setting up of a complete democracy. Many of the keenest politicians in the army were of this way of thinking, and there was real danger from their fierce zeal. Cromwell, however, declared himself strongly against them. "Break them in pieces," said he to the council. "If you do not break them, they will break you." He sternly put down the mutinies which the Levellers had stirred up among the soldiers. The Commonwealth must make itself supreme before the question of what form it should take could be considered. The royalists dared not rise, so that the fall of the Levellers meant the complete subjugation of England.

Difficulties
of the new
government.

3. Ireland and Scotland were still outside the rule of the Rump. In Ireland since the Cessation most of the country was in Catholic hands, though the differences between the extreme Irish party and the moderate Catholic nobles made their position difficult, and allowed the duke of Ormonde, the royalist leader, to make an alliance between the Catholic lords and the Protestant royalists, and proclaim the prince of Wales as Charles II., king of Ireland. Early in 1649 Cromwell crossed over to Ireland and waged a war against the Catholics and royalists. His first victories were the captures of *Drogheda* and *Wexford*, where he massacred the whole of the defeated garrisons, thinking that this cruel example would frighten the rest of the land into obedience. In 1650 the conquest had proceeded so far that Cromwell was able to leave its completion to his lieutenants. These now restored Protestant and English ascendancy in very much the same fashion as Strafford. The Catholic worship was suppressed, and the Irish landlords were driven from their lands, or compelled to exchange their fertile estates for stretches of bog and moorland beyond the Shannon. Their property was sold to speculators, or else handed over to Puritan veterans, on condition of their settling down as new members of the English garrison. Ireland had secured

Cromwell's
conquest of
Ireland,
1649-1650.

peace and sound government, but was so sternly coerced that the rule of Cromwell has ever after been hated by the Irish as a time of peculiarly bitter tyranny.

4. In Scotland the Presbyterians, indignant at their defeat in the second civil war, and always professing loyalty, after their fashion, to the monarchy, proclaimed the prince of Wales king of Scots immediately on his father's death. The young king was, however, an exile in Holland. Clever and clear-headed, but needy, frivolous, and debauched, Charles II. had no mind to submit himself to the restraints which the Covenanters sought to impose upon their king, and remained in Holland, while Montrose crossed to Scotland in 1650, and attempted another royalist rising, in the hope of making the king's nominal rule a real one. He was unsuccessful, and was soon captured and hanged. This tragedy showed Charles that he must accept the Presbyterian terms or remain in poverty and exile. He bent his neck to the yoke, subscribed the Covenant, pledged himself to set up Presbyterianism in all the three kingdoms, and was thereafter coldly welcomed by his subjects, and crowned king of Scots in January, 1651. Argyll, however, remained the real ruler of Scotland, and the young king was completely dependent on his stern Puritan taskmasters.

5. The Rump saw that either they must conquer Scotland, or that the Scots would attempt to conquer England. Fairfax, long disgusted with the turn things were taking, refused to lead the army against the Scots, and resigned his command. Cromwell, who had no such scruples, became general in his place, and invaded Scotland in the summer of 1650. On September 3 he gained one of the most brilliant of his victories at *Dunbar*, over a Scots army commanded by David Leslie, his old companion in arms. The result was the conquest of southern Scotland. In 1651 the Scots, in despair of resisting the invader any longer, took the desperate resolve of invading England, hoping that a royalist rising would follow the appearance of the king and his troops. David Leslie again led the Covenanting army, and Charles II. himself accompanied the expedition. England was, however, so sick of war that not even the appearance of the son of the martyr of Whitehall could stir up a revolt, especially for a Presbyterian king surrounded by Puritan soldiers. Cromwell followed hard upon the invaders, so that their movement had more the appearance of a flight than a spontaneous advance. At last, on September 3, 1651, exactly a year after *Dunbar*, the

Charles II.
king of
Scots,
1649-1651.

Battles of
Dunbar and
Worcester,
1650-1651.

general overwhelmed the weary band at *Worcester*, a battle which he described as a "crowning mercy." The three kingdoms were now at his feet, for Argyll, unable to defend even his Highland valleys, was forced to make peace. Scotland, like England, became a commonwealth, without king or House of Lords. Presbyterianism was deprived of its assemblies and political influence, and toleration was secured for all Puritans in the land which had hitherto had freedom of worship for none save Presbyterians. After *Worcester*, the king of Scots escaped to the continent, having many romantic adventures on his way.

6. The British islands all subdued, the young republic next turned against the foreign enemies that had insulted it. Conspicuous among these was the Dutch republic, whose strong commercial rivalry with England overbore the war, common bonds that should have bound together two 1652-1653. Calvinistic commonwealths. The Rump did not fear to challenge Dutch hostility by passing, in 1651, a *Navigation Act*, which was directly aimed at the *carrying trade* which was the chief source of the enormous wealth of the United Provinces. By it goods were to be henceforth imported into England, either in English ships or in vessels of the country to which the cargo belonged. The result of the act was a fierce war at sea between England and the Dutch. At first the enemy had nearly everything in their favour. Their ships and captains were the most famous in Europe, while the Rump had to create a new English navy and find naval commanders from its generals on land. Luckily a leader of great capacity for seamanship was found in Robert Blake, a Somersetshire man, who had fought well on the side of Puritanism during the Civil War. Beaten in his first efforts by the eminent Dutch admiral Tromp, Blake was able to win a decided victory off *Portland* in 1653. Henceforth the two navies were so equal and the seamen of each so brave and obstinate that the fight was one of peculiar stubbornness. There was no longer, however, any danger of foreign nations striving to upset the young republic. Abroad as at home the commonwealth seemed firmly established.

7. Now that fighting was over the Puritan army had again leisure to concern itself with politics. It became indignant that so narrow an oligarchy as the Rump should still cling to power, and still profess to speak in the name of the English people. It drew up schemes for the future government of England on popular and Puritan lines, and strongly urged the dissolution of parliament. The oligarchy

The expulsion of the Rump, 1653.

paid little attention to its views. The Rump had now been so long in power that it forgot that it had been created by the soldiers and was dependent upon them. Before long the army leaders lost all patience. Cromwell, though slow to move, never hesitated to take a decisive line when he thought the time was ripe for action. He convinced himself that the Rump would never willingly put an end to itself, and that the continuance of its rule was a danger to freedom. On April 20, 1653, he made a speech in parliament bitterly rebuking his colleagues for self-seeking and greed. "It is not fit," he cried, "that you should sit here any longer." Thereupon some of his soldiers drove the Commons out of their own House. Thus an end was put to even a pretence of parliamentary government. The army thus destroyed the Commons as well as the monarchy and the Lords.

8. Power was now concentrated in the soldiers and their general. Cromwell, though careless of forms, had no wish to rule as a mere military chieftain. Now that the Rump was removed, he cast about for a body corresponding to the House of Commons, though he had not enough faith in popular government to summon a free parliament and let it do what it liked. He was an enthusiastic Puritan, and thought that the best rulers of a nation were godly and religious men. He now strove to gather together an assembly of leading Puritans selected by himself. When they met he told them that they had been chosen to govern England because of their piety. His nominees in this assembly soon got out of hand. They forced forward wild schemes for getting rid of priests and lawyers, and their impracticable crochets soon made Cromwell see that he had made a mistake in calling them together. He persuaded some of the more discreet members to resign their power into his hands. Thus ended the meetings of the body which men called in derision the *Little Parliament*, though in truth it was no parliament at all. It was also called *Barebones' Parliament*, from one of its members whose name was Barbon.

9. The soldiers showed more good sense than the fanatics, and in December, 1653, the council of officers drew up a scheme for the future administration of England, called the *Instrument of Government*. It provided that England, Scotland, and Ireland should be united in a single commonwealth, with one parliament and one executive. This parliament was to consist of a House of Commons only, containing four hundred members representing the three nations,

The Little
Parliament.

The Instru-
ment of
Govern-
ment.

and chosen according to a scheme that gave members to districts according to their wealth and importance, and votes in choosing them to all persons possessed of property worth £200. To this reformed House of Commons the whole legislative power was assigned. The government of the country was, however, entrusted to a *Lord Protector*, assisted by a *Council of State*. Cromwell was to be the lord protector, and the effect of the plan was to give him a sort of limited monarchy for life, though with not nearly so much power as the old kings had possessed.

10. For the rest of his career Cromwell ruled England as protector. He soon showed that he was as great a statesman as he had been as a general. In modern days we may look Cromwell as back with special interest to his work, since under his Protector, rule the three kingdoms first had a single parliament, 1653-1658. the first reformed parliaments sat, and religious toleration was tried for the first time. Wise, active, and high-minded as he undoubtedly was, Cromwell, nevertheless, was not able to rule England successfully. When his parliament met, it began to quarrel with the system under which it had been created, but this Cromwell would not permit. He told the members that they must accept the general principle of the Instrument of Government, and would not allow those who refused to bind themselves to do so to sit any longer. Even after this purging the Commons continued to give Cromwell trouble, so that he dissolved them in disgust.

11. Cromwell now threw over all pretence of constitutional rule. He levied taxes without parliamentary grant, and turned out the judges who seemed too outspoken in their criticisms of his system. He divided England into The Major-generals, ten large districts, over each of which he appointed a 1655. soldier, with the title of *Major-General*, to act as its governor. This revealed the true character of the new protectorate. It was based upon the power of the sword, and without the support of the Puritan army it would not have lasted for a month. The royalists hated Cromwell as a king-killer; the republicans as a renegade who made himself a sort of king; and even his own soldiers wavered in their loyalty to him. Ireland and Scotland resented his rule as that of an alien conqueror, and were only kept quiet by main force. In short, all Cromwell's playing with constitutional forms was insincere. It is true that he preferred to rule through a parliament. Yet he was determined to govern after his own way, and if his Commons did not like it, he dealt with them more roughly

than ever Charles I. dared to do. His sway was, therefore, that of a military despot, and he belongs to the same type as Julius Cæsar and Napoleon Buonaparte. But though one of the most arbitrary he was one of the most efficient of all our rulers, and, considering the narrow basis of his power, he accomplished great things.

12. Cromwell devoted much care to the settlement of the Church by bringing in a larger measure of toleration than England had ever known before. There was still a state Church, which, after a brief experience of exclusive Presbyterianism before 1648, became under Cromwell the common ground for all men of Puritan views. Even the old clergy were not disturbed if they would abstain from using the Prayer-book and promised to be faithful to the commonwealth. Cromwell boasted of his comprehensive Church system. "Of the three sorts of godly men," he said, "Presbyterians, Baptists, and Independents, though a man may be of any of these three judgments, if he have the root of the matter in him he may be admitted." Ministers of these three ways of thinking held the livings, received the tithes, and preached in the churches. But outside Cromwell's tolerance were "Papists" and "Prelatists," partly because they were not faithful to the commonwealth, but partly also because their opinions were thought to be superstitious. In other directions Cromwell was so liberal that he allowed Jews to settle in England and erect synagogues there for the first time since the reign of Edward I. A tolerance that excluded the Prayer-book and the mass could not but find many dissatisfied persons, and besides Catholic and Anglican malcontents, new Puritan sects now arose which also stood outside Cromwell's Church. Chief among these were the *Society of Friends*, or the *Quakers*, whose protests against Calvinistic dogmatism took the form of believing that the inner light of each man's conscience was the best test of spiritual truth.

13. Cromwell's foreign policy brought him especial fame. Alone of our seventeenth-century rulers, he had the advantage of having an army behind him, and could therefore make his influence felt in a fashion impossible for any Stewart king. His first idea of foreign politics was to go back to the days of Queen Elizabeth, and pose as the protector of the Protestant interest all over Europe. With this object he made peace with the Dutch in 1654, and strove to form a league of the Protestant powers. He soon found, however, that religion was no longer the chief element in determining the relations between state

Cromwell's
Puritan
State
Church.

Cromwell's
foreign
policy.

and state, and that Protestant nations hated each other as bitterly as did the chief Catholic powers, France and Spain. Politics still centred round the rivalry of these two kingdoms. The Thirty Years' War had ended in 1648 by the *treaty of Westphalia* giving religious peace to Germany. But the position then won by the Protestants in Germany was due not to their own efforts, but to the influence of France, which in its hatred of the Hapsburgs had backed up the Lutherans. The peace of 1648 secured the supremacy of France, which, under its young king Louis XIV. (1643-1715), became once more the first state in Europe. So jealous was Spain of French ascendancy that it refused to make peace, and war between the two great powers continued until 1659. Their eager rivalry made both anxious to get the support of Cromwell.

14. Rudely deceived in his hopes of forming a Protestant league, the protector had now to decide between the rival claims of two Catholic states to his favour. He soon cast in his lot with France, largely on the ground that France was less bigoted in its popery than Spain, but also moved by the fact that, as in Elizabeth's days, Spain was still our chief rival on the sea and in America. In 1654 he sent Blake to uphold English interests in the Mediterranean, while another fleet under Penn and Venables was despatched to the West Indies to renew the old Elizabethan attacks on Spanish power in the new world. Blake soon won fresh glory for our fleets, concluding his great career in 1657 by totally destroying a Spanish fleet at *Santa Cruz*, in Teneriffe. He died on the way home, having in a few years won an enduring place among the very greatest of English seamen.

15. Penn and Venables were less fortunate, failing in an ill-planned attack on Hispaniola, but taking *Jamaica* from the Spaniards in 1655. This was the first colony won by England by conquest from another European power. In 1657 and 1658, Cromwell's Puritan soldiers fought side by side with the French in Flanders, gaining a brilliant victory in the *battle of the Dunes*, which resulted in our capture and occupation of *Dunkirk*. With English help, France so thoroughly defeated Spain that in 1659 the Spaniards were glad to make peace. The conditions made Louis XIV. by far the strongest prince in Europe and gained *Dunkirk* for England. Cromwell's foreign policy won England a position she had not had since the days of Elizabeth. It deserves every praise for vigour and energy, yet the fundamental idea of it was mistaken. If a balance of power was to be maintained, Cromwell did a bad service

The French
alliance,
1655.

Jamaica.
1655, and
the battle of
the Dunes,
1658.

to England and Europe by helping to build up the overweening power of Louis XIV.

16. Despite his first failure Cromwell still strove to rule with a parliament, and in 1656 summoned a second House of Commons, though again excluding from their seats all persons known to be opposed to his policy. This purged assembly, pleased at the withdrawal of the rule of the major-generals, drew up, in 1657, a new scheme of government called the *Humble Petition and Advice*, which is memorable as an attempt to restore the traditional constitution before the Civil Wars. In the original plan Cromwell was to be made king, and, though respect for the prejudices of his republican friends led him to reject the title, a revised scheme was drafted giving him as protector the chief powers of a king, including the right of naming his successor. Moreover, the House of Lords was to be restored as well as the monarchy, though also under another name. An upper house, consisting of life peers, nominated by the protector, and called the *Other House*, was henceforth set up beside the House of Commons. Thus the old constitution was to come back under the house of Cromwell and with a Puritan Church establishment.

17. Cromwell did not live long enough to carry out this new system completely. He was cut off on September 3, 1658, the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester, and the protectorate, difficult enough under a man of genius, speedily became impossible under his eldest son. Richard Cromwell, whom Oliver had nominated as his successor, became protector as easily as one hereditary king succeeds another. His advisers, anxious to make the restoration of the old constitution more complete, abandoned the reformed scheme of representation, and caused his first parliament to be elected by the old constituencies, rotten boroughs and all. The Commons showed friendliness to Richard because they were afraid of the army, and hoped to make an alliance with him against the soldiers. The real trouble began when the army insisted on having as their new general, Fleetwood, with powers independent of protector and parliament. Richard refused this, though he offered to make Fleetwood lieutenant-general under himself as general. Then the army coerced the weak-spirited protector into dismissing parliament. On May 25, 1659, Richard, only anxious for a quiet life in the country, resigned the protectorate altogether.

The Humble
Petition
and Advice,
1657.

Protec-
torate of
Richard
Cromwell,
September,
1658-May,
1659.

18. The army did not know what to do with the supreme power which devolved upon it on the collapse of parliament and protector. Without Cromwell there was no one to frame them a policy, and the would-be successors of Cromwell quarrelled among each other instead of agreeing upon common action. At last, in despair, the Rump was asked to resume power. The narrow and self-satisfied oligarchy had learned nothing during its years of retirement. It again arrogated to itself all the rights of the Commons of England, and took up a lofty tone in dealing with the soldiers.

The Rump
restored.

19. Everything was now in confusion, and the weakness of the government inspired the Presbyterians of Cheshire to rise in revolt. The army could still fight, though it could not rule, and Lambert, the strongest of the generals, easily suppressed the insurrection. When peace was restored, Lambert turned out the Rump; but so little was the army able to govern that, on December 26, it recalled the Rump for the second time.

A Presbyter-
ian revolt
suppressed,
1659.

20. The only way that had not been tried to remedy the hopeless condition into which affairs had drifted was the bringing back of the old king and the old constitution. The first man of authority bold enough to make this experiment was George Monk, a silent, hard-headed, shrewd soldier, who then commanded the army that kept Scotland in obedience to the commonwealth. Still keeping his own counsel as to what he meant to do, Monk crossed the Tweed into England on January 2, 1660, and marched slowly to London. During the journey he received a warm welcome from every one, among others from Fairfax, now eager to undo the work of his own hands. When Monk reached London, he declared himself in favour of a free parliament meeting at once to settle the future destiny of the nation. He compelled the Rump to receive back the members ejected at Pride's Purge. This gave a majority for his friends, who at once voted that the Long Parliament should come to an end. Its last act was to make Monk general of the army.

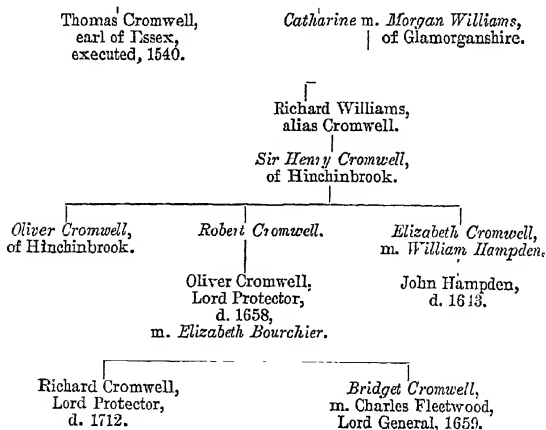
Monk de-
clares for a
free Parlia-
ment, 1660.

21. All eyes were now turned to the king of Scots and his court of exiles. To facilitate Monk's work, Charles issued, on April 4, the *Declaration of Breda*, in which he promised a general pardon, agreed to let parliament settle the chief matters of importance, and declared his desire to grant a "liberty to tender consciences" in matters of religion that did not disturb the peace of the realm. A few weeks later the free parliament assembled,

the Commons for England only after the old fashion, and the Lords temporal, without the bishops, who had been lawfully excluded. This assembly, called the *Convention*, since it was not summoned by royal writ, voted that "the government is and ought to be by kings, Lords, and Commons," and invited Charles to come and receive his birthright. On May 29, which was also his birthday, Charles II. entered London amidst the unmeasured rejoicings of nearly the whole nation. This Restoration was, however, not merely a restoration of the crown. It was preceded by a restoration of parliament, and the wholesome laws of the early days of the Long Parliament remained on the statute-book, and made it impossible for Charles to follow blindly in his father's path. Thus the one great break in the continuity of modern English history was ended by the bringing back of the old constitution.

THE CROMWELL FAMILY

Walter Cromwell, fuller at Putney.



CHAPTER IV

CHARLES II. (1660-1685)

Chief Dates :

- 1660. Restoration of Charles II.
- 1662. Act of Uniformity.
- 1663. Foundation of Carolina.
- 1665. The Dutch War; the Great Plague.
- 1666. The Great Fire of London.
- 1667. Treaty of Breda and Fall of Clarendon.
- 1668. Triple Alliance.
- 1670. Treaty of Dover.
- 1673. Test Act and Fall of Cabal.
- 1678. Treaty of Nijmegen and Popish Plot.
- 1679. Fall of Danby and the *Habeas Corpus Act*.
- 1680. Exclusion Bill rejected.
- 1681. Foundation of Pennsylvania.
- 1682. Rye House Plot.
- 1685. Death of Charles II.

1. MANY delicate matters remained to be settled after the restoration of Charles II. The king had been brought back by the Presbyterians, but the old royalists now returned from their exile or retirement, and it was no easy matter to satisfy both of these parties. The Convention, 1660-1661, now turned into a formal parliament, set to work to embody in law the conditions of the Declaration of Breda. An *Act of Indemnity* was passed which gave a general pardon to those who had fought against Charles I. The *regicides*, who had sat in judgment on him, and a few others, were excepted from the amnesty, and thirteen of these were put to death, while others were imprisoned or exiled. Even dead regicides were exposed to such dishonour as could be wrought upon them. The bodies of Cromwell and other commonwealth leaders were dug out of their graves in Westminster Abbey, and hanged on the gallows at Tyburn. Monk's army received its arrears of pay, and was disbanded, except about five thousand men. These few regiments formed the nucleus of our modern standing army, which thus is directly descended from the

Cromwellian soldiers. All the proceedings of the revolutionary government were now treated as invalid, but very few of the early acts of the Long Parliament, which Charles I. had accepted, were tampered with, though the Triennial Act was made less severe, and bishops were restored to their place in the House of Lords. Many of the laws of the Rump and of the protectorate, which were thought good in themselves, were now re-enacted in a more legal fashion. Among these was the Navigation Act of 1651, and an act abolishing military tenures. A permanent excise was granted to the king in compensation for his loss of the feudal revenue, and an income of £1,200,000 a year was voted to Charles for life.

2. Public opinion soon ran far beyond the policy of the Convention Parliament. The ruined royalists denounced as rebels many of those who had been most prominent in bringing about the Restoration. In particular there was a strong indisposition to allow a Puritan assembly to settle the future constitution of the Church. Accordingly, the Convention was dissolved in December, and in May, 1661, a new parliament was elected. In this the old Cavalier spirit was supreme. It insisted upon further exceptions to the Act of Indemnity, though Charles and his ministers did what they could to prevent additional deeds of vengeance. The first work of this new parliament was the settlement of the Church. Neither Prayer-book nor bishops had been legally abolished. The surviving bishops were restored to their sees, and the empty bishoprics were filled up. The chief difficulty in the bishops' way lay in the fact that parish clergy, appointed since the Civil War, were Puritans, who hated episcopacy and the Prayer-book. At first there was some talk of so altering the constitution of the Church as to retain the more moderate of the Puritan clergy within its fold, and Charles himself had promised to reform the Church so as to make it better liked by the Presbyterians. With that object a conference was held in 1661 at the Savoy Palace in the Strand, between the bishops and the Presbyterian leaders. The bishops, headed by Gilbert Sheldon, then bishop of London, and soon after this made archbishop of Canterbury, took up an unconciliatory attitude; and the Presbyterians, whose chief spokesman was Richard Baxter, demanded such extensive changes, that the bishops had some excuse for refusing any concessions at all. A slight revision of the Prayer-book was the chief result of the Savoy Conference; but the changes made in it were such as made it more distasteful to the Puritans than it had been before.

The Restoration settle-
ment of the
Church,
1661.

3. A series of acts of parliament now completed the restoration of the old Church. The first of these was the *Corporation Act* of 1661, which required that all members of municipal corporations should receive the Communion according to the rites of the Church, and abjure the Covenant. The Clarendon Code, 1661-1665. Next came the *Act of Uniformity* of 1662, which made compulsory the use of the revised Prayer-book after St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24. Another act required that all the beneficed clergy on whom a bishop had not laid his hands should receive episcopal ordination. When these laws came into operation nearly two thousand beneficed clergymen resigned their benefices, rather than read the Prayer-book and seek episcopal ordination. Their expulsion from the Church made it necessary for such as wished to continue their ministry to set up congregations of their own. The result was the beginning of Protestant dissent on a large scale. Up to now the general plan of the Puritans had been to remain within the Church and change its character. This policy was henceforth impossible. Not only the Independents and Baptists, who had had churches of their own since Elizabeth's day, left the Church. Even the Presbyterians followed their example, though it was a proof of the weakness of English Presbyterianism that a large number of the leaders of the old Presbyterian party conformed to the new settlement. Stern laws strove to defeat the efforts of the expelled ministers to form congregations for themselves. Charles II. did what he could to carry out the promise of "liberty to tender consciences" which he had promised at Breda. But even the wish of the king was of no great force on the zealots who professed to be glorifying his power. In 1664 a *Conventicle Act* enacted that any meeting of more than five persons for religious worship, not in accordance with the practices of the Church, was an illegal conventicle, attendance at which was severely punished. In 1665 the *Five-Mile Act* forbade the ejected clergy to teach in schools or live within five miles of any town or of any place where they had once held a cure. For the rest of Charles's reign the prisons were filled with Dissenters who had broken these cruel laws in their wish to worship God in the way they thought right. John Bunyan, the minister of a village congregation of Baptists near Bedford, was shut up for more than twelve years in Bedford gaol, where he wrote his famous *Pilgrim's Progress*.

4. Thus the ecclesiastical system of Laud and Charles I. was fully restored. It is the best proof of the thoroughness of the

reaction against Puritanism that that Restoration was the work of parliament itself. Laud, in defiance of parliament, had persecuted those who disagreed with him; the Dissenters of the age of the Restoration were legally persecuted by the act of the House of Commons itself. The same strong reaction against Puritanism led to a curious glorification of royalty and the erection of loyalty into a sort of religion. New churches were dedicated to King Charles the Martyr as to a new saint. The restored clergy preached the divine right of kings, and the duty of the subjects passively obeying the will of the Lord's anointed. The rebound from Puritan austerity showed itself even more strongly in a wild time of riot and dissipation in which the king and his courtiers took the lead

5. Scotland and Ireland were as strongly affected by the Restoration as England. In both countries the Cromwellian Union was set aside as illegally brought about, and both the bringing back of the local parliaments and the ending of the Independent tyranny made Scots and Irish at first welcome the movement. But in neither country was there a real restoration of local independence, and English ascendancy survived in more disguised forms. In Scotland a *Rescissory Act* abolished all legislation passed since 1633, and therefore restored bishops in the Church, though no effort was made to set up anew the Liturgy of Laud. This measure, passed by a union between the king and the nobles, curbed the power of the Presbyterian clergy, and began to make the Restoration disliked among the Scots. Before long things went much further. Argyll, the Presbyterian leader, was executed upon frivolous charges of complicity with the death of Charles I. With the help of the new archbishop of St. Andrews, James Sharp, and of John Maitland, earl of Lauderdale, both recent converts to episcopacy, Charles II. renewed the policy of the early Stewarts of keeping Scotland under English influence, which in effect meant the subordination of the smaller to the larger kingdom. The *Covenanters*, who refused to worship in a Church ruled by bishops, were brutally persecuted, and the feeling of the people was with them, so that the king's policy became unpopular and provoked frequent insurrections.

6. There was no pretence of restoring freedom to Ireland. Protestant and English ascendancy assumed a Cavalier and Episcopal rather than a Puritan shape, and the duke of Ormonde, the chief agent of the Irish Restoration, showed more toleration

to the Roman Catholics than the Cromwellians had done. The chief problem of the Irish Restoration, however, was the question of the land. The Puritan adventurers had been settled on estates that had been forfeited, partly for rebellion against England. and partly for loyalty Ireland. to Charles I. They were, however, a powerful addition to the Protestant garrison, and it seemed dangerous to English interests to remove them. Accordingly, the *Act of Settlement* of 1661 allowed the Puritan settlers to keep their estates, while promising restitution to all royalists, whether Protestant or Catholic, who had lost their lands for adhesion to King Charles. It was soon found that there was not enough land to satisfy everybody, and a later *Act of Explanation* annulled a third of the Cromwellian grants in order to help back loyalists. This seemed a liberal policy to Ormonde, but the result of it was that a very small proportion of Irish soil was restored to native Irish or Catholic hands. Hence arose the great agrarian question of later Irish history. The divorce of the Irish Catholics from their land condemned them to hopeless poverty and intensified their deep sense of wrong. They were, however, less harshly dealt with than in Puritan times. The mass was again allowed, though the Catholic clergy were badly treated. Bishops were restored in the Protestant Church, which, however, kept up its Puritan traditions by way of being as different as possible from the Catholic majority.

7. Foreign policy was not greatly influenced by the Restoration so far as its general direction was concerned, though the different way in which the same policy was carried out soon made the changes seem greater than they were. Charles II. continued Cromwell's alliance with Louis XIV, though the overwhelming power of that monarch was already recognized as threatening the balance of Europe. Two important results soon flowed from the French alliance. In 1662 Charles sold the Cromwellian conquest, Dunkirk, to the French. This act was unpopular, and was unjustly set down to corrupt motives. Men said that Charles was more anxious to please Louis than protect the honour of England. The king's marriage in the same year was another triumph of French diplomacy. Charles chose as his wife Catharine of Braganza, sister of the king of Portugal. This country had revolted from Spain in 1640, and was still maintaining its independence with the help of the French. Louis now secured English recognition of Portugal by the marriage of Charles to a princess of that nation. It was a deadly offence to

Spain, for Portugal became sure of her freedom during the next few years. Moreover, the rich wedding portion with which Portugal purchased the English alliance proved of great importance for the development of English trade. Besides a large sum of money, Portugal handed over to England Tangier, on the African side of the Straits of Gibraltar, and the island of Bombay in India. The latter was handed over to the East India Company, and soon became the chief of its trading settlements, and the only one that was not held of the Mogul Empire. With its acquisition we have the first faint beginnings of our Indian Empire. At present, however, the India Company still pursued merely commercial objects. It became very wealthy and successful in the generation that followed the Restoration.

8. Charles II. was as anxious as Cromwell to further English commerce and colonies, and his brother James, duke of York, now lord high admiral, administered the navy with skill and success. The first war of the new reign was a war for trade and empire. The commercial rivalry of England and Holland was now keener than ever.

The rivalry of England and Holland. The renewal of the Navigation Act had embittered feeling between the two countries. Even after the Dutch had acquiesced in that, Dutch and English traders were fighting on their own account in Africa and North America. In 1665 the clamour of the English merchants forced England to declare war against the Dutch.

The Dutch war, 1665-1667. The struggle was as obstinate as that which had taken place twelve years earlier. The Dutch, commanded by their admiral, Ruyter, were more skilful than their opponents, though heroes of the Civil Wars like Prince Rupert and Monk, now duke of Albemarle, acquired fresh credit as commanders of our fleets. After two years of hard fighting the English, having exhausted all their money, foolishly laid up their great ships in harbour, and thereby left the Dutch in temporary command of the sea. They availed themselves of this to sail up the Medway to Chatham, where they burnt three men-of-war laid up uselessly in the harbour, and cut off London from all communication with the sea for several weeks. This was the more alarming since Louis XIV., alarmed at the power of the English navy, supported the Dutch against us. This temporary triumph was not, however, due to the superiority of the Dutch so much as to the want of wisdom of the English. The best proof that forces were still equally balanced was that in the course of the same year (1667), peace was signed at *Breda*, by which each country was allowed

to retain possession of the territories which it held at that moment. The effect of this was to transfer the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam to English rule. Granted to the king's brother, James, Duke of York, it took the new name of New York. Its acquisition was of the greatest importance for the future of English North America. *New Amsterdam* had kept asunder the New England group of colonies from Virginia and its neighbours. Henceforth a continuous row of English settlements monopolized the eastern seaboard of Central North America.

9. In other ways also the period of the Restoration is important in the growth of our American colonies. The earlier plantations increased in wealth, population, and importance. The addition of Cromwell's conquest of Jamaica to Barbados and the other English settlements in the West Indies, much strengthened our commerce in that direction, while the further development of the slave trade made it easier to find labour for the sugar plantations. Fresh colonies were also set up in the mainland of North America. The first of these was *Carolina*, established in 1663, and named, like *Charlestown* its capital, from Charles II. Situated to the south of Virginia, in a semi-tropical climate, Carolina was from the beginning largely dependent upon slave labour, especially in its southern districts. Ultimately the colony split up into *North and South Carolina*. Even more important than English expansion southwards was the completion of the filling up of the gap between New England and Virginia. The conversion of New Amsterdam into *New York* had partly effected this; but the settled Dutch district did not go beyond the Hudson, and the coast-land between the Hudson and the Delaware were still untilled soil. The duke of York sold the vacant Dutch lands beyond the Hudson to Sir George Carteret, who, in 1667, established therein a new colony called *New Jersey*, since Carteret was a Jersey man. The plantations of the midland district was still further developed in 1681, when William Penn, the son of the conqueror of Jamaica, obtained a grant of the land west of the Delaware stretching into the interior, and on which he settled a new colony called *Pennsylvania*. Penn, a gentleman of wealth, high position, and noble ideals, had lately joined the *Society of Friends*, and wished to find a new home for his co-religionists, who were as severely persecuted by the government of the Restoration as by that of the Commonwealth. Though Pennsylvania was his

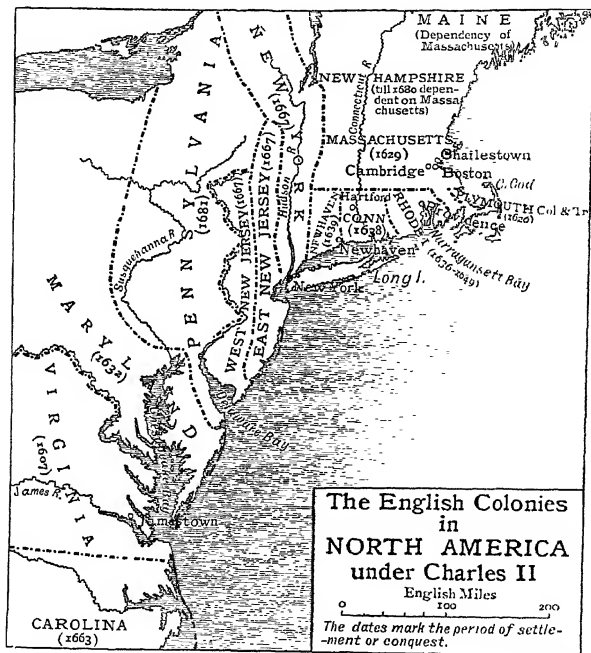
Growth
of the
American
colonies.

Carolina,
1663.

New York
and New
Jersey,
1667.

Pennsyl-
vania, 1681.

own property, being, as it was termed, a *proprietary colony*, he drew up a very liberal constitution for it by which a popular assembly was elected by ballot and religious freedom given to all who believed in God and the moral teaching of Christianity. He called his capital *Philadelphia*—the city of brotherly love—and would not



allow war to be waged even with the Indians, with whom the other colonies were constantly engaged in hostilities. The combined result of all these new movements was that England became one of the chief colonizing and maritime powers. It was gradually driving its old rival Holland into a secondary position. Its success excited the jealousy of France, which, under Louis XIV.,

first began to devote herself to foreign trade, to the sea, and to colonies.

10. The slow and unnoticed growth of English power in distant lands did not compensate for the many failures of the Restoration government in dealing with the matters that were immediately before it. During the disasters and mismanagement of the Dutch war, London was exposed The fall of Clarendon, 1667. to two great calamities. In 1665 it was decimated by the *Great Plague*, and in 1666 half the city was burnt down by the *Great Fire*. There was a bitter outcry against the profligacy and corruption of the court, the blunders of the Dutch war, the subservience of the crown to the French, and the general maladministration of the country. Even the loyal parliament elected in 1661 was beginning to grow restive, and a strong opposition, called the *country party*, sought to renew the policy of Pym and Hampden. Edward Hyde, the old associate of Falkland, earl of Clarendon and chancellor since the king's return, was looked upon as chiefly responsible for the policy of the government. The country party disliked him as an advocate of the prerogative. Puritans and Dissenters hated him for his jealous championship of the Church, and called the persecuting laws of the period the *Clarendon Code*. He was more unjustly blamed for the merits of the king's foreign policy, with which he had little to do. Moreover, though his daughter, Anne Hyde, was the wife of the duke of York, the heir to the throne, he was not supported strongly at court, where he was looked upon as old-fashioned, slow, and over-scrupulous. Accordingly, when the Commons showed a desire to make Clarendon the scapegoat of their growing indignation, the king willingly gave him up. In 1667 the chancellor was dismissed from office and impeached for high treason. The charges brought against him were so far from amounting to that crime that the Lords refused to commit him to prison. But Charles, who wished to get rid of him, recommended Clarendon to leave the country. Taking the king's advice, he withdrew to France. Thereupon parliament, taking his flight as a proof of guilt, passed an act for his banishment. With his exile the first period of Charles II.'s reign comes to an end.

11. In the administration that was formed after the chancellor's fall, there was no single statesman who held so powerful a position as Clarendon had previously occupied. He The Cabal, 1667-1673. had been driven from power by a coalition of country party and courtiers, and both these discordant elements were now

strongly represented in the government. Chief among them was George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, son of Charles I.'s favourite, who, as the king's personal friend and the political ally of the Puritans, formed a connecting link between the two parties. Though able and enterprising, Buckingham had neither earnestness nor principle. A stronger statesman was Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley, a former partisan of Cromwell's, the ablest of the opposition, a keen advocate of parliamentary supremacy and of toleration, and the best party manager of his time, though he was ambitious, factious, and unscrupulous. Henry Bennet, Lord Arlington, a pompous diplomatist, and Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, a hot-headed Catholic, were dependents of the court; while Lauderdale, the fifth prominent minister, though working with the others, limited himself mainly to Scots affairs. These five gained an infamous notoriety as the *Cabal*, a word then used for the little groups of politicians whose secret deliberations were beginning to have more influence upon the conduct of affairs than the more formal debates of a large and heterogeneous body like the privy council, the traditional organ of the executive power. The *Cabal*, however, widely differed among themselves, and were only accidentally bound together by their common dislike of the old Cavalier party that had dominated affairs under Clarendon. They posed as friends of toleration at home and of peace abroad, and in both these matters their policy was more sound than that of their predecessors. In particular, they looked with suspicion on the ever-increasing aggressions of Louis XIV., who was again at war with Spain, and rapidly overrunning the Spanish Netherlands, to which he laid claim on behalf of his wife, the sister of the new Spanish king Charles II. In 1668 England united with the Dutch and the Swedes to form a *Triple Alliance* to restore peace to Europe. So formidable was the combination that Louis unwillingly made peace, and surrendered many of his conquests. He was bitterly mortified at the league formed against him, and strove with all his might to break it up.

12. The early acts of the *Cabal* gave promise of better things than resulted from them. The ministers were, however, greedy, corrupt, and divided, and did not persevere in their wiser policy when their self-interest impelled them in a contrary direction. Louis XIV. brought his influence to bear upon Charles II., and in 1670 signed with him the secret *treaty of Dover*, by which Charles promised to help Louis against the Dutch and Spaniards, while Louis agreed to send men and

The Triple
Alliance,
1668.

The Treaty
of Dover,
1670.

money to assist Charles to put down opponents to his power and restore Catholicism to England. Charles only communicated the full details of this scandalous compact to Arlington and Clifford, but Buckingham and Ashley were persuaded to agree to help the French against the Dutch. Louis, who looked upon the Dutch as mainly responsible for the Triple Alliance, now made the humiliation of the United Provinces the great object of his policy.

13. Having stripped Holland of all her allies, Louis and Charles declared war against her in 1672. So mismanaged were Charles's finances that he could obtain funds to equip his fleet only by a discreditable refusal to repay from the Dutch Exchequer a large sum of money temporarily deposited there by the bankers. The Dutch 1672-1673. This measure was called the *Stop of the Exchequer*. Unlike former English attacks upon Holland, this war was not popular. Though Englishmen had no love for their rivals in trade, they saw that England was making herself the tool of France, whose ascendancy was more dangerous both to our commerce and our liberty than that of a slowly decaying small state which was already almost beaten in the contest with us. The utmost sympathy was shown when the Dutch, attacked both by sea and land, prepared to resist Louis as they had resisted the Spaniards a hundred years earlier. Before long, other nations, dreading the advance of France, made common cause with the Dutch, so that Louis had to fight not a single state but a European coalition. Led by their heroic young *stadtholder*, William III., prince of Orange, a nephew of Charles I., called from private life to defend his country against the French and restore the power of the house of Orange over the Dutch Republic, the Hollanders held their own so well that there was no longer any danger of the destruction of their republic. Before long William of Orange showed such skill as a general and a diplomatist that he became the soul of the general European opposition to the overmighty power of France. For the next thirty years he made it the chief business of his life to build up coalitions and command armies against Louis XIV.

14 The unpopularity of the war destroyed the influence of the Cabal, and rumours of Catholic intrigue and dangers to Protestantism leaked out, despite the secrecy which was carefully preserved as to the treaty of Dover. The Cabal now went back to its earlier policy of toleration at home, and as it was hopeless to ask Parliament to relax the laws against the Dissenters, it sought to compass the same end by royal prerogative. Charles claimed that as king

he possessed a power both to *suspend* altogether any act of parliament, and also to *dispense* in particular cases with its operation. By virtue of these powers he issued in 1673 a *Declaration of Indulgence*, proclaiming religious freedom to all Dissenters. The Church party, still strong in the Commons, was very indignant at this, while even the Protestant Dissenters looked askance at toleration that flowed from royal prerogative only, especially as they saw that it was clearly granted in the interests of the Roman Catholics, who were popular and numerous at court. Charles himself had secret sympathies with the Catholics, and the duke of York had recently become an avowed Romanist. A great cry arose that Protestantism was in danger. This soon broke up the ill-cemented ranks of the Cabal. Ashley, now earl of Shaftesbury, threw himself into violent opposition once more. In 1673 the Protestant party hurried a *Test Act* through parliament, which required all holders of office under the crown to receive the Communion after the fashion of the English Church and renounce the doctrine of transubstantiation. Shaftesbury hotly supported the bill, which Charles dared not refuse to accept. Clifford would not take the test, and Arlington was driven from power. The duke of York laid down the admiralty rather than accept the test. In 1674 parliament forced Charles to make peace with the Dutch.

15. The reaction from the Cabal restored power to the old Cavalier party, now represented by Sir Thomas Osborne, a Yorkshire gentleman, who became earl of Danby and lord high treasurer. The Commons had confidence in Danby, him, because, like Clarendon, he was a good friend of the Church, and indisposed to show favour either to Catholics or Protestant Dissenters. In foreign policy, however, Danby took up a different line from that which Clarendon had been credited with. In his distrust of France he went back to the principles of the Triple Alliance, though he was prevented by the king from actively siding with the European coalition that was still fighting with no great success against Louis XIV. Thus king and minister worked in different directions, with results that proved extremely discreditable to the country. Soon Charles signed another secret treaty with Louis, by which he promised to make no alliance with a foreign power without the French king's leave. Moreover, he and his courtiers freely took pensions and bribes from Louis, who naturally expected the support which he had paid for. Yet next year Danby raised an army to fight the French, and

married the princess Mary of York, the next heir to the throne after Charles and James, to William of Orange, the pillar of Protestantism and opposition to France.

16. In great disgust at these acts of hostility, Louis signed with his enemies the treaty of *Nijmegen* in 1678, preferring to stay his course of victory rather than run the risk of England joining his enemies. Profoundly irritated at the inexplicable difference between Charles's promises and his ministers' acts, the French king resolved no longer to waste his money on so shiftless a dependent. His bribes now flowed into the coffers of the opposition, and he roused the just indignation of the country party by revealing to them his secret dealings with Charles, to some of which Danby had been an unwilling partner. In December, 1678, Danby was hurled from power and threatened with impeachment, whereupon, in January, 1679, the king dissolved parliament. It was still the same longlived House of Commons that had been elected in 1661. Distrust of the king had quite destroyed its former excessive loyalty, but it remained to the last as zealous for the Church as in the early days of the Clarendon Code.

17. A new trouble had already fallen upon the country during the last months of Danby's ministry. In 1678 a clergyman named Titus Oates announced that he had information that the Roman Catholics had formed a plot to murder the king and restore their religious ascendancy. Why a king so friendly to the Catholics as was Charles should have been assassinated by them is not easy to understand, and the character of the informant was so bad that it was difficult to accept his statement as evidence of anything. Expelled from his ministry in the English Church, Oates had gone abroad and turned Catholic. His gross vices had brought him into trouble in his new as in his old faith, and he came back to England, professing a new zeal for the Protestant cause and a special store of information about the misdeeds of the papists. There had been so much Catholic intrigue that plain men might be pardoned for being credulous, and the secret dealings of Charles with Louis XIV. and the convert's zeal of the duke of York for his new faith, all naturally produced an excitable and suspicious condition of public opinion. Yet nothing can excuse the blind faith which sober men now showed in Oates's revelations. Other scoundrels, seeing how profitable was the trade of informer, followed his example. Innocent Catholics were denounced, tried by venal judges before timid juries, and hurried

to the scaffold on perjured testimony. The panic resulted not only in the collapse of the power of Danby; it gave the country party, already eager to uphold the Protestant interest, an admirable opportunity of forcing its way to place. Shaftesbury, its leader, made a clever but unscrupulous use of the chance thus put into his hands. He hoped to regain authority as the saviour of England from popery, and did not care how many innocent persons suffered if he could fulfil his purpose.

18. In March, 1679, a new parliament met. Elected under the panic fear of the papists, the Commons were entirely in Shaftesbury's hands. Two chief measures were laid before the estates by the popular leader. One of these, a measure for securing the liberty of the subject, called the *Habeas Corpus Act*, speedily became law, and did much good in making it more difficult for the crown to imprison innocent persons without legal warrant. The other was a bolder measure, namely, an *Exclusion Bill*, to keep the Catholic duke of York out of the succession to the throne on his brother's death. Besides this, parliament renewed the impeachment of Danby, who was not very fairly regarded as responsible for a policy which he had done his best to prevent.

19. In July, 1679, Charles dissolved parliament, in the hope of saving his brother's chance of the succession. Though fresh elections were held at once, the temper of the new House of Commons was reported to be so unruly that Charles feared to summon it to transact business. The friends of the Exclusion Bill, therefore, sent up petitions to the king, urging him to allow parliament to meet. From this they were called *Petitioners*. But there were signs that the violence of the ultra-Protestant party had already begun to produce a reaction. The old devotion to monarchy showed itself in the friends of hereditary succession drawing up counter petitions to the crown, in which they expressed their abhorrence of the petitioners' attempt to interfere with the royal prerogative. For this reason these people were styled *Abhorrrers*. As in 1642, the nation was splitting up into two parties, and the *Petitioners* of 1679 were like the Roundheads of the earlier year, whilst the *Abhorrrers* were the same as the Cavaliers. Shorter and more convenient nicknames were soon found for the two parties than these. The *Petitioners* were called *Whigs*, a nickname first applied to the Scottish Covenanters; while the *Abhorrrers* were described as *Tories*, a word first used to distinguish the Catholic rebels and outlaws in

The Habeas
Corpus Act
and the Ex-
clusion Bill,
1679.

Whigs and
Tories,
1679.

Ireland. Though both in their origin the insulting epithets of opponents, the two short words took root, and the two great parties into which the nation was henceforth divided were proud to be described as Whigs and Tories. A little later the strong Church party, the Laudians, got the nickname of *High Church*; while the more Puritanical, or liberal, section of Churchmen were spoken of as *Low Church*. Tory and High Church, Whig and Low Church, were virtually synonymous terms.

20. The outlook long remained stormy. In 1679 the extreme Scottish Presbyterians, or *Covenanters*, murdered Archbishop Sharp, and rose in revolt against king and bishops. By Shaftesbury's advice the task of suppressing the revolt was entrusted to James, duke of Monmouth, the eldest of the king's numerous illegitimate children. Monmouth defeated the Covenanters at *Bothwell Bridge*, over the Clyde, near Glasgow. This broke the back of the rising, and the duke of York, sent down by his brother to Scotland, punished the rebels very sternly. He drove away from Scotland the earl of Argyll, who aspired to play the part of his father, the Argyll beheaded in 1661.

21. Monmouth was a popular but showy and shallow person, and Shaftesbury, who treated him as a tool, was glad to use him as much as he could. There was even talk that he was Charles's lawful son, and should be the next king instead of the duke of York. Charles, however, upheld his brother as loyally as he could, though in general the king had good sense enough to see that it was not wise for him to set himself too strongly against public opinion. Thus he gave way to Shaftesbury and the Whigs, though he hated their views, and had no faith in the popish plot. After keeping back the parliament elected in 1679 for more than a year, Charles at last allowed it to assemble in October, 1680. The Commons at once carried the Exclusion Bill, but the Lords rejected it, mainly through the advice of Lord Halifax, who boasted that he was neither a Whig nor a Tory, but a *Trimmer* between the two.

22. In January, 1681, Charles dissolved parliament, and met another one in March at Oxford. Passion was now so deeply aroused that the Whig members rode to Oxford with bands of armed followers, like the Mad Parliament of 1258. It looked as if another civil war was absolutely inevitable. The Commons clamoured for exclusion, and the king, backed up by the Church party, would not give up hereditary right.

High Church
and Low
Church.

Battle of
Bothwell
Bridge,
1679.

The Lords
reject the
Exclusion
Bill, 1680.

The Oxford
Parliament,
1681.

After a short but violent session, Charles once more dissolved his parliament. It was the last that met during his reign.

23. The violence and factiousness of Shaftesbury had overshot the mark. The panic of the Popish Plot had died down, and Charles, skilfully though selfishly, waiting on events, had given the Tories time to rally. A strong Tory reaction set in which soon involved Shaftesbury in disgrace. The Tories now showed themselves as cruel as the Whigs had been. Shaftesbury and Monmouth fled to Holland, where the Whig leader soon died. The extreme Whigs in their disgust formed a conspiracy called the *Rye House Plot*, which aimed at assassinating Charles as he rode past a house called the Rye House on his way from London to Newmarket. The plan was detected, and its chief authors executed. Some of the Whig leaders, including Lord Russell, the eldest son of the earl of Bedford, and Algernon Sidney, the republican son of the earl of Leicester, were accused of complicity in the conspiracy. Though the evidence against them was weak, they were condemned and executed. They were looked upon as martyrs to the popular cause.

24. The Tories remained in power for the rest of Charles II.'s reign. The reaction against the tumults of the period of the Popish Plot made the king as popular at the end of his life as he had been in the first enthusiasm of the Restoration, and when he was suddenly cut off in February, 1685, he died generally lamented. In some ways his popularity was very lightly gained. Genial, good-tempered, and easy of access, he knew how to make himself pleasant to his subjects; but he was idle, improvident, selfish, extravagant, and immoral. The dissoluteness of his private life set the worst of examples to his people. He sold himself to Louis XIV., and would willingly have restored Catholicism and arbitrary rule had he the power to do so. Yet Charles was too idle and careless to make the consistent effort necessary to carry out a strong personal policy of his own. Abler and much clearer-headed than any other Stewart king, Charles had the shrewdness to see things as they really were. He perceived that he could not safely take up the line of his father, and, being determined to die on his throne, he learnt in some ways to play the part of a constitutional king. Alone of his house he recognized the force of public opinion, and he was thus able, though not from high motives, to save England from the danger of more revolutions when her greatest need was quiet and rest.

The Rye
House Plot,
1683.

The Tory
reaction,
1682-1685,
and the
death of
Charles II.,
1685.

CHAPTER V

JAMES II. (1685-1688)

Chief Dates:

1685. Accession of James II.; Revolts of Argyll and Monmouth.

1688. Declaration of Indulgence and fall of James II.

1. THE Tory reaction of the last years of Charles II.'s reign still flowed so strongly that the duke of York was proclaimed James II. without a murmur of opposition. The new king was neither so able nor so attractive as his brother. He was careful, businesslike, and a good administrator, and had sacrificed much through his devotion to the Catholic faith. Like Charles I, he was obstinate, tenacious, and lacking both in straightforwardness and insight. Yet even James could not but recognize that his peaceful accession was due to the loyalty of the High Church and Tory party. Though he went to mass in state, he professed to regard his religion as a private matter. He allowed himself to be crowned after the Protestant rite by William Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, and promised to uphold the Church because Churchmen were always loyal. He kept his brother's Tory ministers in office, and the first few months of his reign were simply a continuation of the last years of Charles II.

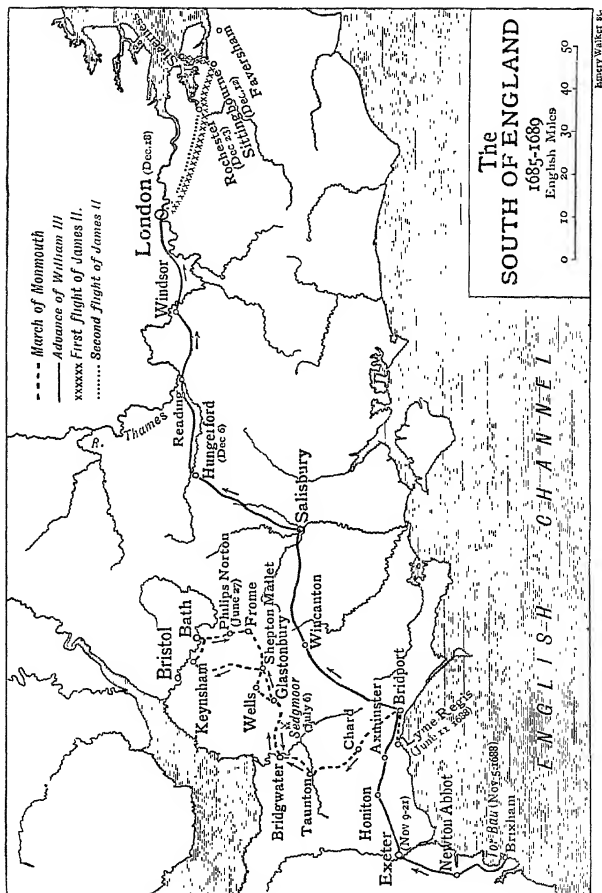
2. James was strong enough not to be afraid of public opinion. He at once assembled both the English and the Scottish parliaments, and found steady support from both these bodies. The Scots parliament passed fresh laws against the Covenanters, while the high Tory majority in the English House of Commons voted James a revenue of £1,900,000 a year for life. This sum was so large that it made James almost independent of future parliamentary grants. Parliament released Danby from his long imprisonment; the informers whose perjured testimony had brought to the scaffold so many innocent Catholics, were sought out and punished. Titus Oates was whipped so cruelly that his survival seemed almost a miracle.

3. The peaceful accession of James filled with despair the

Whig refugees in Holland. Seeing that the new king could not be overthrown by peaceful means, they fell back on treason. In the summer of 1685 two small groups of exiles landed in Britain, hoping to stir up rebellions. One of these was led by the earl of Argyll, who landed in the Campbell country of the western Highlands in the expectation of raising his clansmen. He had some success in this, but his associates failed to excite a revolt among the Covenanters of Ayrshire, and the expedition was so badly managed that it soon collapsed. Argyll, like his father, was executed as a traitor, and the persecution of the Covenanters became more brutal than ever.

4. The chief effort of the exiles was directed to the south-west of England. In June the duke of Monmouth landed at Lyme Regis, in Dorsetshire, declaring that he was Charles II.'s lawful son and rightful king of England. A large force of Puritan peasants and miners gathered round him, and he became so strong that he was able to advance through Somerset towards Bath and Bristol. Both these towns, however, refused to receive him, and he was compelled to retire to Bridgwater, closely pursued by the king's army, commanded by the earl of Feversham, under whom was John, Lord Churchill, the ablest soldier of his time. Monmouth gallantly resolved to surprise Feversham's troops in their camp at *Sedgemoor*, a few miles east of Bridgwater. After a long night march the rebel army attacked Feversham in the early morning of July 6. They found the royalists well prepared to meet them, and Monmouth's cavalry fled in a panic. The raw infantry gallantly stood their ground, but they were outflanked and outgeneralled, and at last utterly routed in the last pitched battle fought on English soil. Monmouth himself was captured a few days later, hiding in a ditch from his pursuers. On July 15 he was beheaded on Tower Hill. The most cruel vengeance was wreaked upon the rebels. Besides many executions immediately after the battle, a whole host of victims was condemned by Chief Justice Jefferies, whose circuit for the trial of the rebels became notorious as the *Bloody Assize*. On his return Jefferies was rewarded by a peerage and his elevation to the office of lord chancellor.

5. James II. was now at the height of his power. He had been so successful that he began to forget the narrow basis on which his throne rested. He was naturally impatient at the disabilities still imposed by law on those who held his faith. It seemed to him unworthy that he should be ruling England and



worshipping freely after the Catholic fashion while his brother Catholics were unable to practise their religion lawfully or to hold the meanest office under the crown. Accordingly, he asked the parliament to repeal the Test Act, and was much annoyed to be met with a blank refusal. Parliament, however, was even more loyal to the Church and to Protestantism than to the crown. It believed that the Test Act was more than ever necessary now that a Roman Catholic occupied the throne. In great disgust James dissolved parliament, and dismissed the Tory ministers whom he had inherited from his brother. The result was a complete breach between James and those who had given him the throne.

6. James was now treading in his father's footsteps. He appointed as his chief adviser Robert Spencer, earl of Sunderland, a statesman of great ability and foresight, but selfish, corrupt, and unprincipled, and not scrupling to profess his conversion to the Roman Catholic faith in order to please the king. Visions of a Catholic and absolutist restoration began to float before the mind of James and his advisers. The first steps towards this were won by obtaining from subservient judges decisions that enabled the king to override the laws which parliament had refused to repeal. Even in Charles II.'s days there had been much talk of the king possessing a *dispensing power* which enabled him to stay the operation of a law in any particular case, and a *suspending power* by which he could temporarily suspend the whole operation of a statute when the interest of the state seemed to require it. It was by virtue of these powers that Charles II. had issued his Declaration of Indulgence in 1672. James now appointed a Roman Catholic named Sir Edward Hales as colonel of one of his regiments. Hales was prosecuted by his coachman for illegally holding office without receiving the sacrament or taking the oath of supremacy. In June, 1686, the judge decided that Hales's commission was lawful, since the king had granted him a dispensation from these obligations. Fortified with this decision, James pushed his dispensing power so far as to appoint many Catholics to civil and military posts. Before long he even gave offices in the Church to avowed Romanists. He required the University of Cambridge to give the degree of M.A. to a Benedictine monk named Francis, whom he dispensed from taking the usual oaths. He ordered the fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, to elect as their president a Roman Catholic of bad character, though the office of president of the

college was open only to clergy of the English Church. He strove to stifle the murmurings that arose by establishing a new *Court of High Commission*. This was an avowedly illegal act, and directly opposed to the statute of the Long Parliament, which had declared such commissions unlawful. A large army was enlisted, many of whose officers were Roman Catholics, and was encamped on Hounslow Heath to overawe the Londoners.

7. James embarked on a definite policy of undermining Protestantism and the constitution. The Court of High Commission, of which Jefferies was the leading spirit, dealt out stern but illegal punishment to all who went against the king's will. It deprived the vice-chancellor of Cambridge of his office, because he resisted the royal mandate to give a degree to Francis. At Oxford it ejected the fellows of Magdalen because they declined to choose a popish president.

The Court of High Commission.

8. A great cry arose that Protestantism was in danger. Not only in England were the fortunes of the reformed religion now imperilled. In 1685 James's ally, Louis XIV., had revoked the Edict of Nantes by which the French Huguenots had for a century enjoyed toleration. Tens of thousands of French Protestants, exiled from their country for their loyalty to their faith, sought refuge in England and other Protestant lands. Their presence in our midst quickened the deep hatred and distrust of popery that had so long been among the rooted convictions of Englishmen. Even the High Churchmen, who had so long made a religion of loyalty, began to grow restive. They were not prepared to allow the king to use his position as head of the Church to ruin the body of which he was supreme governor.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685.

9. James's chief difficulty in carrying out his plans was that there were not enough Roman Catholics in England to form a strong party. He tried to make up for this by conciliating the oppressed Catholics of Ireland, and appointed as lord-lieutenant of Ireland the Catholic earl of Tyrconnell, who began to assail that Protestant ascendancy on which English rule in Ireland was based. Irish help, however, did James more harm than good in England, and gradually the king saw that his best chance of overthrowing the Church was by uniting the Protestant Dissenters, whom hitherto he had severely persecuted, with his Roman Catholic followers.

Tyrconnell in Ireland.

10. In 1687 and 1688 James issued two declarations of indulgence by which by his own authority he suspended all the laws against

both Roman Catholics and Dissenters. Very few of the English Dissenters were blind enough to accept the king's lead. They had no reason to love the dominant and persecuting Church, but they saw that the Church was the chief bulwark of Protestantism, and that its overthrow would be followed by the extension to England of the persecution that so sorely afflicted their brethren in France and Scotland. Thus they refused to become accomplices in the restoration of arbitrary power and popery in England, and prepared to take sides with their old enemies in the defence of the liberties of England and the Protestant religion. The crisis came in 1688, when James gave orders that his second *Declaration of Indulgence* should be read in all churches on the first two Sundays in June. Archbishop Sancroft, an extreme Tory and High Churchman, took counsel with six of his brethren, of whom Ken, the holy bishop of Bath and Wells, was the most important. The seven bishops agreed to petition the king not to force the clergy to break the law. James was very angry at the prelates presuming to question his acts, and became furious when the great majority of the clergy, inspired by the bishops' resistance, refused to read the declaration. He brought the seven bishops to trial for publishing a seditious libel. On June 30 a London jury acquitted them of this ridiculous charge amidst the universal rejoicing of the whole nation. The seven bishops became popular heroes for having led the way to resistance against the popish king.

11. While the trial of the bishops was still pending, another event had occurred which intensified the need for resistance. Hitherto

many men had borne with James's doings, since he was an old man, and on his death his throne would have gone to his Protestant daughter, the princess Mary of Orange, the grand-daughter of Clarendon.

But on June 10 a son, named James, was born to the king and his second wife, Mary of Modena. The new prince of Wales would of course be brought up as a Catholic, and thus there was every prospect of a long continuance of popish rulers. Accordingly, on the very day of the bishops' acquittal, seven leading men united in sending a letter to Mary's husband, William of Orange, inviting him to come to England to save the land from popery and arbitrary power. Not only Whig magnates like the earl of Devonshire, but Tories so staunch as Danby signed this appeal.

12. A new European war was breaking out, and William of Orange, the leader of the coalition which he had formed against

the French, was eager to get England on his side. He accepted the invitation, and on November 5 landed in *Torbay* at the head of a Dutch army. All England fell away from James, who strove, when it was too late, to conciliate his angry subjects by dissolving the Court of High Commission. William was welcomed by the gentry of the west, and advanced slowly from Exeter to London. James found that it was useless to attempt resistance. His own daughter, the princess Anne; his favourite soldier, Lord Churchill, deserted him; and as the Dutch approached London, he was forced to flee to France.

13. Once master of the capital, William issued writs summoning a *Convention Parliament*. Like the body that restored Charles II., this convention was in all but name and form a real parliament. It met on January 22, 1689. Though the majority was fiercely Whig, there was a strong body of Tories returned, who, now that James's flight had dissipated their worst alarms, began to have scruples against resisting or deposing the king by divine right. They proposed that James should remain nominal king while William became regent. But this was an absurd compromise that pleased nobody, and finally the Convention took up a more decided line. It voted that James had abdicated the throne by his flight to France, and that the throne had thereby become vacant. It drew up a *Declaration of Right*, wherein the worst of James's acts were denounced as illegal. The declaration was presented to William and Mary, who ratified it. Thereupon the throne was offered to William and Mary as joint sovereigns. On their acceptance of the throne, the "Glorious Revolution," as it was called, was completed. The Stewart attempt to set up king above parliament was finally defeated. Working out still further the principles of the men of 1641 and 1660, the Convention set up a monarchy, created by parliament, and responsible to it. It thus destroyed the old Tory theory of divine hereditary right, and made the king an official, subject, like other officials, to dismissal if he neglected to perform his duties. Thus parliament became the strongest element in the English state, and the seventeenth-century struggle of king and his subjects was finally ended by the triumph of the parliament over the crown.

The Convention,
and the
Declaration
of Right,
1688.

CHAPTER VI

WILLIAM III. (1689-1702) AND MARY (1689-1694)

Chief Dates :

- 1689. Accession of William and Mary ; Bill of Rights and Toleration Act.
- 1690. Battle of the Boyne.
- 1692. Battle of La Hougue and Massacre of Glencoe.
- 1694. Death of Queen Mary.
- 1696. First Whig Ministry.
- 1697. Treaty of Ryswick.
- 1698. Failure of the Darien scheme ; First Partition Treaty.
- 1700. Second Partition Treaty.
- 1701. Act of Settlement.
- 1702. Grand Alliance formed ; death of William III.

1. On February 13, 1689, William III. and Mary were put in possession of the throne. Much still had to be done before the changes made necessary by the flight of James II. were completed. To carry some of these out, the Convention, following the precedent of the convention which restored Charles II., was turned into a regular parliament. It set to work to pass new laws which should make it impossible for any future king to govern on the lines of James II. The most important of these was the *Bill of Rights*, which re-enacted the Declaration of Rights in a more formal fashion. It declared illegal many of James's unconstitutional acts, such as levying money and keeping a standing army without the sanction of parliament, and stated that subjects had a right to petition the king, and that parliaments should be freely elected, frequently held, and have free speech. It declared the suspending power altogether illegal, and the dispensing power "as it hath been exercised of late." Its most important clauses, however, were those which bore upon the future. It enacted that "for the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom," all persons "who profess the popish religion or marry a papist, shall be incapable to inherit or possess the crown."

2. Other laws of scarcely less importance were passed by the Convention. A *Mutiny Act* was drawn up, which authorized the king to maintain a standing army and enforce discipline in it by martial law. This act was only passed for a short period, so that the king was forced to go every year to parliament for its renewal. This was a more excellent means of keeping William dependent on parliament than the abstract resolutions of the Bill of Rights. Even more effective, however, was the action of parliament with regard to the royal revenue. While Charles II. and James II. had received a grant of a large income for life, so that they were able to carry on the government in a fashion without having further recourse to the Commons, parliament cut down the life revenue of the crown to very modest limits, and resolved to make parliamentary grants from year to year only. This action resulted in the necessity for annual sessions of parliament ever since. Were parliament not to assemble, the Mutiny Act would lapse, so that the standing army would become illegal, while most taxes would come to an end, for no one would have any obligation to pay them.

The Mutiny Act, and the revenue, 1689.

3. Another law, passed in 1689, was the *Toleration Act*, which gave Protestant Dissenters who believed in the Trinity the right to worship freely in their own chapels. It was not a broad or comprehensive measure of toleration. Unitarians were excluded from it, and the penal laws against Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters still remained on the statute-book. Yet it practically carried the principle against which nearly all religious parties had been fighting since the Reformation. It recognized that Englishmen did not all think the same way in matters of religion, and allowed persons who disagreed with the established system of the Church to assemble for worship after their own fashion. The Dissenters still remained under all sorts of disabilities, but they had at last won the right to exist. Gradually the spirit of the times changed, and extended the benefits of the Toleration Act to those who were expressly excepted from it. But many a battle had still to be fought before complete religious liberty was won.

The Toleration Act, 1689.

4. The High Church party disliked the Toleration Act, and were afraid of the results of the revolution. Though many of them had deserted James in his hour of need, they soon became disaffected with the rule of a king who gave toleration to Dissenters and was a Presbyterian in his own country. They were still a very powerful body, and were strong enough to prevent

William carrying out his wish to change the constitution of the Church in such a fashion that it might include some of the moderate Dissenters, and particularly the Presbyterians.

The Low Church triumph and the schism of the Non-Jurors.

Some of the High Church leaders still upheld the doctrines of divine right and passive obedience, and denied that William had any right to the throne. When called upon to take an *oath of allegiance* to the new sovereign, many of the clergy refused to accept it. Among them were Archbishop Sancroft, of Canterbury, and Bishop Ken, of Bath and Wells, and several hundred parish clergymen. All these were driven from their offices, and the bishoprics thus made vacant were filled up by William from the Low Church party, which was enthusiastically upon his side. The new archbishop of Canterbury, Tillotson, was the leader of the Low Church, and much disliked by the High Churchmen for his wish to widen the limits of the Church by bringing some of the Dissenters within it. Those who refused to swear allegiance to William were called the *Non-Jurors*. The more extreme among them broke off all relations with the Church, and held services of their own. This *schism of the Non-Jurors* was, however, never very formidable, since few laymen followed the clergy who left the Church. And the seceders were only a minority, even among the High Church clergy. The majority took the oaths without giving up their old theories, and remained very hostile to the Church policy of the new king. Many of them soon became *Jacobites*, or partisans of King James, and they were the more formidable, since they still had a great hold over the people. Thus, even in England, the revolution was not carried through without grave difficulties. It was still harder to establish the power of William and Mary in Ireland and Scotland.

5. Ireland supported James II. long after he was expelled from England. His deputy in Ireland, Tyrconnell, had already destroyed

James's power upheld in Ireland.

Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, and, with the flight of James, the last restraint upon his zeal was removed. Hitherto James had looked with suspicion upon the Irish movement, because, though he sympathized with the Irish as Catholics, he had no wish to help them to throw off English rule altogether. Now, however, James had to accept any allies he could get, and allow them to act as they thought best. In March, 1689, James himself landed in Ireland, bringing with him some French troops. He summoned an Irish parliament to Dublin, the great majority of which was Catholic. It showed a

bitter hatred to England and Protestantism. It repealed the *Act of Settlement* of 1661, by which the greater part of Irish land had been confirmed to English and Protestant owners. It passed an *Act of Attainder*, which condemned more than two thousand partisans of William of Orange.

6. The scattered Irish Protestants of the south were forced to submit to James and the Catholics; but in Ulster, where the Protestants were numerous, they at once took arms in favour of King William and the Protestant religion. The two Ulster towns of *Londonderry* and *Enniskillen* were the chief centres of resistance. King James's army soon besieged Derry, and pressed the garrison hard. The walls were weak, and provisions soon ran short, but the Protestants held out with great stubbornness. Ships laden with provisions were sent from England for their relief, but the Catholic army had thrown a boom across the river Foyle, so that it seemed impossible for vessels to sail up to the town. However, on July 30, when the garrison was almost desperate from want of food, a merchant ship sailed up the river, and managed to break through the obstruction. Her stores removed all danger of starvation, and the Catholics, losing heart at the unexpected relief afforded to their enemies, at once raised the siege. Three days later, the men of Enniskillen defeated another Catholic army in the *battle of Newtown Butler*.

Siege of
Derry and
the battle of
Newtown
Butler,
1689.

7. Despite these successes, the Irish Protestants were too few to hold their own permanently against the Catholics. Their only chance lay in obtaining help from England, and luckily for them, this was not long in coming. William saw that if James kept his hold on Ireland he would soon attempt to win back England also. He therefore sent an English army, under General Schomberg, a French Protestant refugee, to fight against James in Ireland. But sickness broke out in his army, and he was not able to accomplish anything. Next year (1690) William himself undertook the conquest of Ireland. Landing at Carrickfergus, he advanced southwards towards Dublin. James resolved to hold against him the line of the river Boyne, which, dividing the counties of Louth and Meath, runs into the sea just below Drogheda. On July 1 the *battle of the Boyne* was fought. Schomberg was killed in the fight, but William's troops forced the passage of the river, and drove the Catholics in a panic towards Dublin. James fled to France; William occupied the capital, and conquered

Battle of
the Boyne,
1690.

the greater part of Ireland. The Catholics now stood on the defensive, and made their last stand at *Limerick*. The fortifications there were as feeble as those of Derry, but the stout spirit of the defenders enabled them to hold their own. Towards the end of the summer William returned to England without having taken Limerick.

8. In June, 1691, the Dutch general, Ginkel, captured *Athlone*, which commanded the passage over the Shannon. This enabled him to invade Connanght, where, on July 12, he defeated the Irish army at the battle of *Aughrim*. Before long all western Ireland was overrun, and for a second time the Catholics stood at bay behind the weak walls of Limerick. This time further resistance was useless, and Ginkel offered easy conditions in order to bring the war to an end. In October the Irish accepted the *treaty of Limerick*, by which it was agreed to allow all the Irish soldiers who chose to abandon their country to take ship for France. The Catholics who took the oath of allegiance to William were promised forgiveness, and were guaranteed the same liberty to hear mass that they had been allowed in the days of Charles II. But the Irish parliament was now once more a purely Protestant body, and was desperately afraid of the Catholics, who had so nearly overthrown Protestant ascendancy. It declared that Ginkel had gone beyond his powers in making these promises, and meanly refused to be bound by the treaty. Eager to have revenge on the Catholics, the Irish parliament restored Protestant ascendancy in a more cruel fashion than either Strafford or Cromwell had maintained it. Gradually it built up a *Penal Code* of extreme severity, which took away from the Catholics all political rights, reduced them to poverty by taking away their lands, and barely allowed them the exercise of their religion.

9. In Scotland the revolution followed the course of events in England rather than that in Ireland. James II. had set himself against Scottish popular opinion even more than he had gone against the wishes of his southern subjects, and the Scots rejoiced greatly when the English drove him out. A Convention of the Scottish estates met in Edinburgh, and resolved that James VII. had forfeited the Scottish crown. A *Claim of Right* was drawn up which declared that prelacy was an insupportable grievance and ought to be abolished. William and Mary accepted the throne, and agreed to carry out the wishes of the Convention. In 1690 the General Assembly

The Protestant conquest of Ireland, 1691.

The revolution in Scotland.

of the Scots Church met for the first time since the Cromwellian conquest, and carried out the restoration of the Presbyterian system. The bishops and their followers were forced to set up a separate Church of their own, which was strongly Jacobite and bitterly persecuted. But the abolition of episcopacy in the Scottish Church made it possible for Scotland to be governed much more in accordance with Scottish ideas than it had been in Stewart times.

10. There was fighting before the revolution was completed in Scotland. John Graham, of Claverhouse, whom James had made Viscount Dundee, withdrew from the Convention in disgust, and called upon the Highland clans to uphold the cause of the Stewarts. The Highlanders cared little about the disputes between bishops and presbyters, Jacobites and Williamites. The revolution meant for them the restoration of the earl of Argyll, the son of the earl executed in 1685, to the chieftainship of his clan. The smaller clans, such as the Macdonalds and Camerons, had long been afraid of the Campbells, and willingly rose in revolt to prevent the danger of a renewal of Campbell domination. Accordingly a large army gathered together from the Tory clans who hated the Whig Campbells. To these Graham stood as his kinsman Montrose had stood to their fathers. But though he showed great capacity as a general, his career was too short to enable him to rival the deeds of Montrose. After various wanderings, Dundee and his Highlanders took up a position in the Perthshire Highlands near Blair Atholl. The Lowland army of King William, under the Highland general Mackay, marched against them through the *pass of Killiecrankie*. Soon after Mackay had made his way through the pass, the army of Dundee went forth to meet him on July 27, 1689. The Lowlanders gave way before the fierce Highland charge, but Dundee was slain in the moment of victory, and Mackay rallied his troops so effectively that, after a few days, the Highlanders became weary of fighting, and went home with their spoils.

Battle of
Killie-
crankie,
1689.

11. The break-up of the Highland host made William undisputed king of Scots. The Highlands were then gradually pacified. Though the work was slow, it was at length accomplished, and amnesty was promised to all those who, before the end of 1691, would take oaths to live peaceably under King William. Most of the chieftains made their submission, but one of the heads of a branch of the Macdonald clan, MacIan of *Glencoe*, made it a point of honour

The mas-
sacre of
Glencoe,
1692.

to hold out as long as he could, though within a few days of the time fixed, he took the oath to William. The chief adviser of William for Scotch affairs was John Dalrymple, called the Master of Stair, because he was the eldest son of Viscount Stair. He was a Lowlander anxious to teach Highlanders to respect the law, and he thought that MacIan's neglect to take the oath gave him a good pretext for reading the clansmen a much-needed lesson. Accordingly he persuaded William, who knew nothing of the facts, that it was desirable "for the vindication of public justice to extirpate that set of thieves," meaning thereby the Macdonalds of Glencoe. The order was carried out by a detachment of soldiers from Argyll's own regiment, who, as Campbells, were the natural enemies of the Macdonalds. The dalesmen of Glencoe were so unsuspecting that they entertained the soldiers with great hospitality. Suddenly, on the early morning of February 13, 1692, the Campbells fell upon their hosts, and brutally put them to the sword. This deed of blood was called the *Massacre of Glencoe*. It excited such indignation that William was forced to dismiss the Master of Stair from his service. William himself was severely blamed, but the real guilt rather fell upon Dalrymple and the Campbells.

12. A general European war had broken out on the eve of William's expedition to England. Since the treaty of Nijmegen in 1678, Louis XIV. had provoked the indignation of all his neighbours by a series of wanton attacks upon them. William of Orange had striven for many years to form a general league against Louis XIV. He welcomed his accession to the English throne chiefly because it gave him the hope of adding England to the coalition against the French. Louis's own action in supporting James II. excited so much indignation in England that William found it an easy task to persuade his new subjects to enter upon war against France. This struggle lasted from 1689 to 1697. Though Holland, Brandenburg, Spain, the Empire, and many smaller powers were allied with England against France, Louis was still able to withstand this formidable coalition.

13. The French won every battle in the Netherlands, and even at sea were able to give the allies much trouble. Though England and Holland, the two greatest naval powers, were united, the French admiral, Tourville, won, on June 30, 1690, a brilliant victory over their combined fleets off *Beachy Head*. This success made it easy for Louis to send help to the Catholics in Ireland.

He also thought of invading England, being encouraged to do so not only by avowed Jacobites, but also by some treacherous ministers and generals of William himself. So long as the French retained the command of the sea, England was exposed to real danger. However, on May 19, 1692, Admiral Russell decisively defeated the French navy under Tourville off *La Hougue*, in Normandy. Henceforth the English and Dutch retained the command of the Channel, though the French grievously harried English commerce for the rest of the war.

14. On land the chief fighting was in the Netherlands. Every summer William took command of the allied army and did his best to withstand the French. Every year he was beaten in a pitched battle, but he had a wonderful power of rallying his army after defeat, so that the French progress was very slow, despite their victories. As time went on, William became more successful, and in 1695 he managed to capture the strong fortress of Namur. The two sides were now fighting on such equal terms that they soon got weary of continuing a costly and unprofitable war. At last in 1697, peace was made at *Ryswick*, near the Hague. By it Louis restored the conquests he had made during the war, and agreed to recognize William as king of England. It was not a very glorious peace for the allies, but it was the first treaty which Louis had signed by which he had not gained large additions to his dominions. His power was still very great, but it had ceased to grow. This was largely due to the fact that England had definitely ranged herself on the side of the enemies of France. One of the most important results of the revolution was the increased part which England took in foreign politics. Under the guidance of the great statesman who was now her king, she had set limits to the power of France, and again won for herself the position of a leading European power.

15. During the war England was exposed to many difficulties. In particular the cost of the war was so enormous that it involved new expedients for raising money. Fresh taxes were imposed, among them being a *Land Tax*, which the country gentlemen bitterly opposed. But it was soon found quite impossible to raise enough money year by year to meet the expenses of the campaigns. Charles Montague, chancellor of the exchequer, was forced to borrow large sums of money. From these loans began our *National Debt*, for Montague did not follow

Battles of
Beachy
Head, 1690,
and La
Hougue,
1692.

Peace of
Ryswick,
1697.

Financial
policy.

the earlier fashion of borrowing, by which temporary advances were demanded for a short period. The new loans became permanent, and their interest a fixed charge on the revenue. One of the earliest loans was made by a company of merchants, which in return was constituted as the *Bank of England*, and given special advantages in carrying on financial business. This was the first bank on a large scale set up in England. It proved very successful, partly because it gave better security to those who trusted their money to it than the goldsmiths, the earlier bankers, had afforded, and partly because it became the agent of the ministry for borrowing fresh loans and managing the ever-increasing national debt. One indirect advantage came from these loans. The persons who lent their money to the government had good reason to be afraid of a Jacobite restoration, since it was unlikely that James would pay interest on money borrowed by William to maintain himself on his throne. Thus the wealthy classes became solidly attached to the Revolution settlement. It was a time when commerce was greatly extending, and many Englishmen were amassing riches through trade.

16. William had many other difficulties besides those which sprang from the need of raising money for the war. He never made himself popular in England or took any trouble to understand English ways. His whole mind was absorbed in his lifelong struggle against France. He distrusted Englishmen, and had good reason for doing so. He was always glad when he could get away to Holland, and his chief friends were Dutchmen, whom he enriched with English estates and raised to English peerages. His health was weak, and he was peevish, morose, taciturn, and selfish. These faults blinded most Englishmen to his real greatness. Things grew worse after Queen Mary's death in 1694, for she was bright, gracious, and popular, and a thorough Englishwoman. As they had no children, the next heir to the throne was now the princess Anne, Mary's younger sister. Anne was on bad terms with her brother-in-law, and had as her chief adviser John Churchill, earl of Marlborough. Marlborough was a great general, but a greedy and self-seeking politician. When engaged in William's service, he did not scruple to intrigue with the exiled king.

17. All through these years the Jacobites were active. Plot after plot was formed to restore King James and to assassinate William. So alarming were these conspiracies that in 1696 parliament followed the example of Elizabeth's parliament in 1584,

and drew up a *Bond of Association*, by which they agreed to stand by King William and the Protestant succession, and to avenge any attack on either. Faction rose high both in parliament and among the king's ministers. At the beginning of the reign William, who was anxious

The Bond of Association, 1696.

not to be the king of one party only, had chosen his ministers indifferently from both the Whig and the Tory statesmen. But the two factions hated each other, and would not work loyally together. Things were the worse since the Tories disliked the war with France. They declared that it was dangerous for England to have a strong army, and that continental politics were no concern of hers.

18. It was soon clear that a ministry chosen from the two parties would not work. The renegade Sunderland, now again a Protestant and returned from exile, wormed his way into William's favour, and showed him the advantages to be gained from having ministers all of the same way of thinking. The king gradually drove away the

The first united Whig ministry, 1696.

Tories from office, and selected his advisers exclusively from the Whigs. The last Tory to go was the duke of Leeds, the former earl of Danby, who narrowly escaped a second impeachment on a charge of corruption. By 1696 a united Whig ministry was formed, of which the leaders were a little knot of statesmen called the *Junto*. Chief among them were the chancellor, Lord Somers; Charles Montague, the brilliant financier, who was soon made Lord Halifax; and Admiral Russell, the victor of La Hougue, now Lord Orford. As soon as William gave his chief confidence to the Whigs, he adopted their policy and accepted their measures. In 1694 he gave his assent to the *Triennial Act*, which laid down that no parliament should last more than three years. In 1695 he allowed the act to lapse which, since the Restoration, had empowered the king to appoint a licenser, without whose permission no newspaper or book could be printed. This abolition of the *ensorship of the press* was as great an encouragement to freedom of writing as the Toleration Act had been to freedom of worship.

19. William had not thought that he was making any great change when he created his united Whig ministry. He was eager to use all the power that the law, as modified by the revolution, gave him. First among his royal rights he reckoned his power to choose his ministers freely, and so to control the government of the country. But the Whigs, at the time they became his ministers, were the party which commanded a majority in the House of Commons, and the

Beginnings of cabinet government.

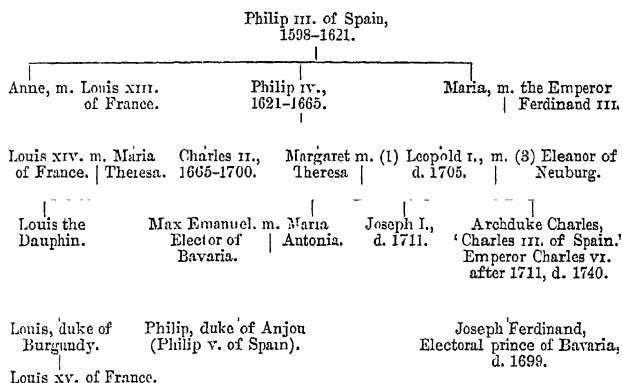
real advantage which he got from the change was in the harmony between his policy and that which commended itself to his parliament. It was, in fact, a move in the direction of the modern system of the *Cabinet Government*, by which the king is compelled to have as his advisers the leaders of the party commanding a majority in the lower House. Already under Charles II. there had been a tendency towards this plan. The ministry of the Whig *Junto* marked a much further step along the same road. The final result was that the king ceased to govern the country at all, and that the executive power passed virtually to the House of Commons. But this change, which was the greatest of all the results of the revolution, was brought about very slowly, and only completed after the accession of the house of Hanover. Yet before the end of William's reign another approach to cabinet government was made, when William had to dismiss his Whig ministers, because the House of Commons ceased to have a Whig majority.

20. Scotland gave trouble to William as well as England. Scotland was in those days a very poor country, with little industry or trade. Now that England was rapidly gaining wealth by foreign commerce, the Scots naturally wished to do the same. There were, however, grave difficulties in the way. The English Navigation Acts treated Scotland as a foreign country, and, in particular, shut the Scots out of all share in the profitable trade with English colonies. Paterson, a shrewd Scot who had helped Montague to establish the Bank of England, proposed to his countrymen to set up a Scottish colony and trading station on the *Isthmus of Darien*, or Panama, which separates North and South America. He believed that he would be able to bring nearly all the trade between the Pacific and Europe through his new colony, and thus make Darien one of the great commercial centres of the world. His plan was taken up with enthusiasm; a Darien company was floated, and in 1698 Paterson himself landed at Darien with the first settlers. Three obstacles stood in their way. The climate was so hot and unhealthy that the colonists died off rapidly of fever. Spain claimed the site as hers, and regarded the Scottish settlers as pirates. England looked with ill will on a new colony that would prove a successful rival to her own. For all these reasons the Darien scheme proved a failure. Such settlers as survived the climate were driven out by the Spaniards, and England did not raise a finger to help them. The chief result of the fiasco was that the Scots became bitterly hostile to England.

21. The treaty of Ryswick brought no lasting peace. Charles II., the childless king of Spain, was slowly dying, and it was certain that on his death Louis XIV. and the emperor Leopold I. would each try to establish a member of their own family on the Spanish throne. Charles's two sisters, Maria Theresa and Margaret Theresa, had married Louis and Leopold, and Leopold's mother had been Charles's aunt. The son of the elder sister, Maria Theresa, and Louis XIV., the dauphin Louis of France, was the nearest heir to Charles II. After him came the electress of Bavaria, the only child of Margaret

The Spanish partition treaties, 1698-1699.

THE SPANISH SUCCESSION, 1700.



Theresa and Leopold. Maria Theresa, very solemnly, and, to a certain extent, the electress had renounced their rights to Spain when they had married. If these renunciations were valid, the heir was Leopold himself, whose mother had made no such surrender. Both the king of France and the emperor meant to press forward their pretensions, and statesmen were almost equally afraid of either of them succeeding, since the union of Spain with France, or even with Austria, would have utterly upset the European balance of power. William III. strongly shared this opinion, and was able to persuade Louis XIV. that it was better for him to obtain a part of the Spanish succession without a struggle rather than plunge into a long and doubtful war on the chance of winning the

whole. Accordingly, in 1698, England, Holland, and France signed the *First Partition Treaty*, by which it was agreed that the electoral prince of Bavaria, the son of the electress and grandson of the emperor, should be the next king of Spain. France was to be compensated with the Basque province of Guipuscoa and with Naples, while the emperor was to be bought off with the Milanese. Looking at the Spanish succession question from the European point of view, it was a wise plan to make that prince king whose accession would least disturb the European balance, and both William and Louis deserve credit for making it. Unluckily, the Bavarian prince died in 1699, and so the whole question was reopened. Louis and William were still anxious to avoid war, and resumed their negotiations. In 1700 they agreed upon a *Second Partition Treaty*. In this Louis recognized the emperor's second son, the archduke Charles, as king of Spain, and received as additional compensation the Milanese as well as Naples and Guipuscoa. This meant that Louis resigned his son's claims in order to win for France the supreme position in Italy enjoyed by the Spanish Hapsburgs since the days of Charles v.

22. The weak point of the policy of William and Louis was that it took no account whatever of the wishes of the Spaniards.

The failure
of the
partition
treaties,
1700.

Though the treaties were kept secret, news about them soon leaked out, and Spaniards felt indignant that foreign princes should presume to cut their empire into pieces and distribute the fragments at their pleasure. The dying Charles II. so fully shared this feeling that he made a will, giving the succession to the whole of his dominions to Philip, duke of Anjou, the younger son of the dauphin, to whom his father, following the example of Leopold's handing over his pretensions to the archduke Charles, had yielded up his claims. Soon afterwards he died, and Louis XIV., yielding to the temptation, threw over the partition treaty, and sent his grandson to Spain. Before long, the whole of the Spanish dominions recognized the French prince as Philip v. Thus the great ambition of William's life was frustrated, for the union of Spain with France seemed likely to make Louis XIV. more dangerous to the European balance than ever.

23. Nothing, however, could be effected for the moment. A strong Tory reaction had followed the treaty of Ryswick, and the new parliament, which met in 1698, had reduced the English army to seven thousand men, and done all that it could to baffle William and his Whig ministers.

The Tory
reaction,
1698-1700.

The wish of the Commons was to drive the Whigs from power, but William did not see why he should dismiss ministers he liked because the Commons did not happen to agree with their policy. For a long time he held out, being helped in his resistance by the support of the House of Lords, a body in which the Whigs had in those days a permanent majority. However, before the end of 1700 he was obliged to give way, and accept a Tory ministry, headed by the earl of Rochester and Lord Godolphin. It was another step forward towards our modern cabinet system when so able a king as William had to change his ministers at the bidding of the House of Commons. It was gradually becoming clear that the revolution had made the Commons stronger than either the king or the Lords.

24. William felt bitterly that his Tory ministers and parliament prevented him from taking any steps to prevent the establishment of Philip of Anjou in Spain. The Tories declared that the balance of power was no concern of England, and the Act of Settlement, 1701, impeached the fallen Whigs for having made the partition treaty without the consent of parliament. Nothing, however, came of this, because the Whig House of Lords took good care not to condemn the chiefs of their own party. There was another general election in 1701, but the Tories were still in a majority. The chief measure of this new parliament was the *Act of Settlement* of 1701, by which the succession to the throne was provided for in the event, which seemed certain, of both William and his sister-in-law Anne dying without children. By it the crown was settled, after Anne's death, on Sophia, electress of Hanover, and her heirs, being Protestants. Sophia was the daughter of Frederick the Elector Palatine, and sometime king of Bohemia, and of Elizabeth, daughter of James I. She was selected for this position because she was the nearest Protestant descendant of James I., her grandfather. There were plenty of nearer heirs, but they were all Catholics.

25. In providing for the Protestant succession without regard to the strict laws of inheritance, the parliament of 1701 showed that Tories, like Whigs, now accepted the doctrines of the revolution, and treated the monarchy as an office which could be conferred by act of parliament. In fact, the Tory Commons were so jealous of a Whig king like William, that they took particular care to limit the authority of the crown as soon as the new law came into force. Some of the constitutional safeguards introduced into the Act of Settlement have great future importance, and worthily completed the legal changes brought about by the

The constitutional limitations in the Act of Settlement.

revolution settlement. All future kings were to be members of the Church of England; they were not to engage England in war to protect their foreign dominions without the consent of parliament, and no foreigner was to hold grants, or office, or sit in parliament. Judges were to have fixed salaries, and only to be removed from office by petition of parliament, and no royal pardon could be pleaded as an answer to an impeachment. All these articles showed distrust of the crown and a wish to wound William's feelings. The same spirit came out even more clearly in three clauses, which were repealed in the next reign before they came into operation. By these the future king was not to be allowed to leave England without consent of parliament. No minister, placeman, or pensioner was to sit in the House of Commons, and affairs of state were to be transacted, not in cabinet councils of ministers after the Whig fashion, but in the full privy council. Had these two last articles ever come into operation, they would have altered the whole course of our later history by stopping the growth of cabinet government. It was soon found, however, that it was the only practical way of giving the strongest party a chance of getting its own way. However, when in the next reign the clause excluding placemen from parliament was repealed, the present plan was brought in of making ministers seek re-election after receiving office.

26. William was thus checked both at home and abroad. His health was breaking up, but he never lost heart, and gradually the outlook became brighter. At last a false step on the part of Louis XIV. gave him his chance. James II. died in 1701, and Louis, moved by a generous impulse not to desert the unfortunate, recognized his son James, prince of Wales, as the true English king.

This was a breach of the treaty of Ryswick, and bad policy, because it stirred up English national feeling against France. Even the Tories became willing to fight the French; and William was at last enabled to build up a *Grand Alliance* against the union of France and Spain, in which England was to take a leading part. Before long William was able to dismiss his Tory ministers and dissolve his Tory parliament. A Whig majority was returned at the general election, which backed up the new Whig ministers in their preparations for war with France. All was ready for fighting when William died on March 8, 1702, from the effects of a fall from his horse. He lived long enough to start the great league which in the next reign was to carry out his dearest wish to destroy the power of Louis XIV.

The Grand Alliance, and the death of William III., 1702.

CHAPTER VII

QUEEN ANNE (1702-1714)

Chief Dates :

- 1702. Accession of Queen Anne.
- 1704. Battle of Blenheim and Act of Security.
- 1706. Battle of Ramillies.
- 1707. Battle of Almanza and union with Scotland.
- 1708. Battle of Oudenarde.
- 1709. Battle of Malplaquet.
- 1710. Fall of the Whigs.
- 1713. Treaty of Utrecht.
- 1714. Death of Anne.

1. QUEEN ANNE was good-natured, true to her friends, sincerely religious, and a thorough Englishwoman. She was popular because of her honesty, and her strong sympathy with the Tories and the High Churchmen. But she was obstinate, and narrow-minded, and her husband, Prince George of Denmark, was even duller than his wife. Anne had been entirely ruled for many years by her old friend Sarah Jennings, who became the wife of Marlborough. Lady Marlborough was strong-willed, quick-witted, and devoted to her husband. The result was that Marlborough really governed the policy of the new queen. A cold-hearted and selfish man, who had betrayed James II. and William in turn, Marlborough was a clear-headed and far-seeing statesman, and the greatest general of his age. He was the one man in Europe strong enough to continue the life-work of William III., and it was well for England that he was available to guide the counsels and direct the armies of the new queen.

2. Marlborough was a Tory, and his influence caused Anne to dismiss her brother-in-law's Whig ministers and put Tories in their place. The chief of the new ministers was Marlborough's close friend. Godolphin, a shrewd and prudent financier, who was made lord treasurer, and the earl of Nottingham, the leader of the High Churchmen, who became secretary of state. Marlborough

was made a duke and captain-general of the English and Dutch armies. It was his business to carry on the war, while Godolphin found the money to pay for it. But he remained a statesman as well as a general, and the custom of the armies of the period going into winter quarters enabled him to take his share in the work of parliament and government in the winter, while commanding the troops in the field during the summer. It was a great proof of his power over his party that he persuaded them to prosecute the war so vigorously, though all the Tory tradition was in favour of peace.

3. War began within a few weeks of Anne's accession. The chief parties to the Grand Alliance were England and Holland, which still acted closely together, and the emperor, who hoped to win the Spanish throne for his younger son. Many of the smaller German princes followed the emperor's lead, conspicuous among them being the elector of Brandenburg, who had been bribed to take sides against France by being recognized as Frederick I., king of *Prussia*. Yet Louis had greater resources than ever under his control. France was the richest, most compact, and, in some ways, the best ruled state in Europe. Its army had an almost unbroken record of victory, and its generals and statesmen enjoyed the highest reputation. Spain, hitherto the opponent of France, was now Louis's active ally, and was inspired with a new energy by her French king. The Spanish Netherlands, hitherto an impregnable barrier to French advance, were under Louis's control, and the Dutch frontier stood open to invasion. Even in Germany the French still had some partisans, notably the elector of Bavaria, and his brother, the elector of Cologne. Italy also, which had hitherto been against him, was mainly on his side, owing to Spanish influence and to his alliance with Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy and lord of Piedmont, the strongest of the Italian princes. The struggle between allies so well matched was soon to prove itself one of the most memorable in history.

4. The first campaigns of the war were not very eventful. The Dutch were fearful of their land being invaded by the French, and compelled Marlborough and the chief army of the allies to devote his main attention to the defence of their frontier. In 1702 and 1703 Marlborough not only saved Holland from invasion, but captured *Liège* and *Bonn*, and overwhelmed the elector of Cologne, Louis's chief

The rule
of Marl-
borough
and Godol-
phin, 1702-
1708.

The war of
the Spanish
succession,
1702-1713.

The early
campaigns
of the war,
1702-1703.

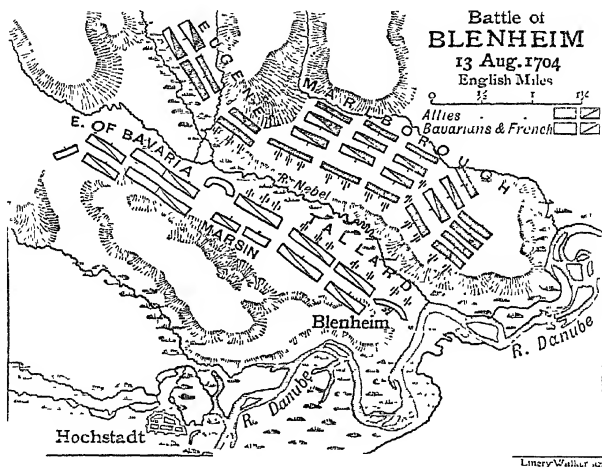
ally in Northern Germany. Elsewhere, however, the coalition was less successful. In upper Germany the French and their Bavarian supporters invaded Austria and marched on Vienna, while a revolt in Hungary also exposed the emperor to trouble in the east. Spain and Italy were so entirely under French control that Portugal and Savoy, alarmed at the danger they were exposed to from French ascendancy, changed sides and joined the coalition. The treaty between England and Portugal was called the *Methuen Treaty* (1703), from its negotiator, John Methuen. By it Portugal opened up her markets to English manufacturers, while England agreed that Portuguese wine should pay a less duty than French wine. The result of the compact was that for the best part of a century Portugal became dependent on England both in politics and trade.

The
Methuen
Treaty,
1703.

5. In 1704 matters became critical for the allies. Vienna was threatened both from Bavaria and from Hungary, and it seemed as if the emperor would be forced to make peace. The only army that could help him was that of Marlborough, which lay hundreds of miles away protecting the Dutch frontier, and whose presence there the Dutch thought necessary for their safety. Armies of this period were unwieldy and slow, but it is the mark of a general of genius to break from the traditions of his day, and Marlborough rose to the great opportunity which was offered to him. He resolved to shift his army from the lower Rhine to the upper Danube and save the emperor. He overcame the reluctance of the Dutch with extraordinary tact, and persuaded them to allow him to remove his troops on the pretence of fighting on the Moselle. But he hurried his force up the Rhine and Neckar, and invaded Bavaria from the west. Prince Eugene of Savoy, the best of the imperial generals, now united his army with that of Marlborough. Thereupon the French and Bavarians were compelled to fight a battle to save Bavaria from being overrun. It took place on August 13, 1704, at Blindheim, called by the English *Blenheim*, a village on the north bank of the Danube, not far east from Hochstadt. The Franco-Bavarian army took up a position facing eastwards on some rising ground commanding the marshy valley through which the little river Nebel runs to join the Danube. Blenheim, the right of their position, was held by Marshal Tallard, the chief French general; in the left were the Bavarians under their elector; while the centre consisted of French troops under Marshal Marsin. The allies were on the opposite bank, Prince Eugene being opposed to the elector and

Battle of
Blenheim,
1704.

Marsin, while Marlborough fought against Tallard. The battle began by Marlborough fiercely attacking Blenheim; but the village was strongly fortified, and many lives were lost to no purpose. Marlborough's quick eye soon saw that Tallard had drawn off many troops from Marsin's column in order to protect his threatened right. He at once threw all his forces against the weak point in the enemies' lines, and managed to break through his centre. Thereupon the elector retreated with the left wing, while Tallard and the defenders of Blenheim were forced to lay down their arms. The battle of Blenheim was the first great victory won



against Louis XIV. in the open field, and dealt a heavy blow to the prestige of the French army. Austria was saved; Bavaria forced to make peace; the French were driven over the Danube; and Marlborough won the reputation of a brilliant general whose daring tactics, rapid movements, and brilliant attacks raised him far above the stiff and slow commanders of the age.

6. In 1706 the successes of Blenheim were followed up by a remarkable series of victories. Marlborough, who had returned to the Netherlands, won the *battle of Ramillies*, near Namur, the result of which was the capture of almost all the Spanish

Netherlands. Prince Eugene, who had undertaken the command in Italy, won the decisive *battle of Turin*, which drove the French out of Italy and established the archduke Charles in Milan and Naples. The attack on Philip v. in Spain, which had begun by Admiral Rooke's capture of *Gibraltar* in 1704, and extended after *Barcelona* had been won in 1705, was consummated by the union of two allied armies in Madrid. One of these, starting from Barcelona, consisted largely of the Catalans, who had revolted from Philip and proclaimed the archduke Charles their king; while the other, composed of Portuguese, English, and Dutch, marched up the Tagus valley to the Spanish capital. It seemed as if France were beaten in every field of the war.

7. Louis and his grandson were inspired to new efforts by their earlier failures, and in 1707 the tide of victory turned against the allies. This was particularly the case in Spain, where the proclamation of the hated Austrian had been followed by a great popular rising of the people in favour of the king of their choice. In 1707 the allies were decisively beaten in the *battle of Almanza*, and Philip v. was restored to Madrid. In the Netherlands many of the fortresses lost after *Blenheim* were won back, while the invasion of Germany was renewed. It was clear that the French were not yet powerless.

8. In 1708 the allies regained their lost ground in the Netherlands. Marlborough and Eugene won the *battle of Oudenarde*, which repeated the success of *Ramillies*, and was followed by the recapture of the fortresses. At last the storming of *Lille*, the key of French Flanders, opened up Louis's own dominions to invasion. Louis became so despondent that he offered to make peace and renounce the Spanish succession. But the allies declared that they would only agree to make terms if Louis would help them to expel Philip from Spain. The French king declined to do this, and manfully prepared to resist invasion.

9. In 1709 Marlborough won the last of his great victories at *Malplaquet*. The French resistance was very stubborn, and the allies lost more heavily than the defeated enemy. Very few important results attended this triumph, and for the rest of the war the campaign in the Netherlands languished. The English now made their chief efforts in Spain, where, in 1708, General Stanhope captured the important island of *Minorca*, and in 1710 again occupied Madrid. Again the

loyalty of the Spaniards to Philip v. made the allies triumph a short one. Before the end of the year Stanhope was defeated, and forced

to surrender with most of his troops at *Brihuega*.

Brihuega, Henceforth Philip of Anjou reigned over Spain.
1710.

Only the Catalans continued to uphold the archduke Charles. And in 1711 the allies themselves became lukewarm in Charles's service, for in that year Charles became emperor on his brother's death. Henceforth his accession to Spain seemed nearly as likely to upset the balance of power as the rule of Philip v. The war was waged with decreasing energy, and neither side scored any remarkable successes. The conquest of the Netherlands by the allies and the exhaustion of France were balanced by the establishment of Philip both in Italy and Spain. At last a change in the political conditions of England made our country anxious to put an end to the war.

10. For the first few years of Anne's reign, Godolphin and Marlborough ruled England as the heads of a Tory ministry.

Party con- Their great anxiety was to carry on the war, and for
tests, 1702- that reason they strove to keep on friendly terms with
1708. the Whig leaders, who were the natural supporters of

a spirited foreign policy. To conciliate the Whigs they had to check the zeal of the High Tory party for upholding the Church at the expense of the Dissenters. The *Highfliers*, as they were called, were anxious to make law a *Bill against Occasional Conformity*, which was to prevent Dissenters qualifying for office by receiving once in the way communion in Church. Marlborough and Godolphin hesitated to pass a measure that would have utterly alienated the Whigs and Dissenters. Before long they opposed it, whereupon Nottingham resigned office in disgust, and raised the cry that the ministry was hostile to the Church. Besides this, Marlborough was gradually finding out, like William, that only the Whigs were really to be depended upon for supporting his war policy. Accordingly, he filled up vacancies with Whigs, and in 1706 gave the office of secretary of state to his son-in-law, Lord Sunderland, the son of the old adviser of James II. and William III. Sunderland was a strong Whig and closely allied to the chiefs of the Whig *Junto*, who were still excluded from office. Gradually the Tory element in the ministry was pushed into the background. In desperation the Tories intrigued against their colleagues, and strove to win court favour by undermining the influence of the duchess of Marlborough with the queen. Robert Harley, the Tory secretary of state, obtained a place at court for his cousin.

Mrs Masham, whose placable and easy temper soon won Anne's confidence, especially as she was getting tired of the overbearing duchess. Mrs. Masham taught the queen that the Whigs were plotting against the Church.

11. It was clear that either the Whigs or the Tories must go. Marlborough and Godolphin definitely went over to the Whigs, forced the reluctant queen to turn out Harley and his Tory colleagues, and replaced them with Somers, Orford, and the lords of the Junto. Among the younger Whigs now taken into office was the capable Norfolk squire, Robert Walpole, who succeeded Henry St. John, the most brilliant of the Tories, as secretary at war. From 1708 to 1710 Marlborough and Godolphin retained power through the help of their old opponents. Foreign policy now really divided Whig and Tory. It became the party interest of the Whigs to prolong the French war, and for this reason they rejected, as we have seen, the offers of peace which Louis xiv. made in the days of his worst distress. After the campaigns had ceased to be successful and the accession of Charles vi. to the Empire. they were still anxious to continue the struggle. Henceforth war or peace depended less on the armies in the field than on parliamentary struggles and court intrigues. It was soon made clear that the Whigs were playing a factious game in the hope of maintaining their power, and plain men became disgusted that a bloody and unprofitable war should be continued indefinitely to meet the interest of a place-loving ministry.

Marlborough's
Whig
ministry,
1708-1710.

12. Once more the cry was raised that the Church was in danger. Anne, now altogether under Mrs. Masham's influence, became extremely suspicious of her ministers' doings, and a Tory parson, named Dr. Sacheverell, won extraordinary influence by his political sermons against the Whigs. The Whigs unwisely made a martyr of Sacheverell by impeaching him, though his offence was so technical that even the Whig House of Lords could inflict upon him no worse punishment than three years' suspension from preaching. This was enough, however, to make the doctor a popular hero, and an effective electioneering agent for the Tories. Anne began to consult Harley and remove the Whigs from office. The general election of 1710 returned a strong majority of Tories and High Churchmen to the House of Commons. The result of this was that the Tories remained in power for the rest of the queen's life.

The im-
peachment
of Dr.
Sacheve-
rell, 1709.

13. Robert Harley, who became in 1711 earl of Oxford and lord high treasurer, was now the chief minister. He was a skilful party manager and a dexterous intriguer, but was timid, hesitating, a poor speaker, and of somewhat ordinary temperament. Far more brilliant and attractive was Henry St. John, the secretary of state, who soon became Viscount Bolingbroke. He was a man of fashion and a famous writer, of wonderful eloquence, and clear insight into English character. But he looked upon politics as a mere game, and had little real earnestness or conviction. Under the influence of these two, Marlborough was dismissed from the command of the army, and charges of corruption and peculation brought against him. His successor as general-in-chief was the duke of Ormonde, an incompetent nobleman, who withdrew from all active share in the war. The Whig majority in the House of Lords was broken down by creating twelve Tory peers, one of whom was Mrs. Masham's husband. The Tories now showed as much factious zeal in hurrying forward the conclusion of peace as the Whigs had manifested in refusing to end the war. They threw over the emperor altogether, and in 1713 united with the Dutch to make a separate treaty with the French and Spaniards at Utrecht. It was only in the following year that Charles vi. was reluctantly forced to end the war by the *treaty of Rastadt*.

14. The chief condition of the *treaty of Utrecht* was that Philip v. should be recognized as king of Spain and the Indies, even the Catalans, who had fought so well for Charles, being forced to accept his rule. The emperor was compensated in Italy, where Milan, Naples, and Sardinia were ceded to him. Charles vi. had also hoped to get the Netherlands and Sicily, but the Netherlands were handed over to the Dutch, who were only to resign them to the emperor when he had concluded with them a *barrier treaty*, by which the fortresses on the French frontier were to be permanently garrisoned by Dutch troops. Sicily escaped Charles altogether, being given to Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, with the title of king. England received some reward in the recognition of the Protestant succession, the cession of Newfoundland and Acadie (Nova Scotia) by France, and the surrender of Gibraltar and Minorca by Spain. Important commercial advantages were also secured to England and Holland. The commerce of the Netherlands was ruined to please the Dutch, and Spain made with England a contract called the *Asiento*, which gave the English the lucrative monopoly of supplying her American

colonies with negro slaves. Spain also permitted England to send one ship a year to trade with Portobello, in South America.

15. The treaty of Utrecht marked an epoch both in the history of Europe and of England. It completed the downfall of the over-
 End of the age of Louis XIV. great power of Louis XIV, who died in 1715, after having outlived the glories of his age. It brought about the revival of Spain and the beginning of the European importance of the two new monarchies of Brandenburg-Prussia and Sicily-Savoy. It witnessed the establishment of England in the prominent position won for her by Marlborough's victories, and gave her great commercial advantages, fresh colonies, an establishment in the Mediterranean, and the status of the supreme maritime power in the world. It was, however, concluded in such a hurry that the Whigs complained with reason that the government had neglected to secure many advantages which Louis might have yielded, if the English had shown more caution in the conduct of the negotiations. The treaty was denounced as a party move, and the Tories were held up to shame as having neglected the interests of their country in their desire to play the game of their faction. It is impossible to justify the way in which England threw over her allies or hurried on the treaty. But it was a good thing to make peace, and it would not have been to the permanent interest of England to have humiliated the French any further.

16. Oxford and Bolingbroke looked forward to a long lease of power. The peace was popular and the country prosperous. The High Church party was won over by passing the *Act against Occasional Conformity* in 1711, to which was added, in 1714, the *Schism Act*, which prevented any Dissenter from becoming a schoolmaster. A new general election returned another Tory House of Commons, and the good-will of the queen was absolutely secured for them. But Anne's health was now breaking up, and, as the electress Sophia, who was over eighty years of age, died at this time, it looked as if the throne would soon pass, according to the Act of Settlement, to her son, George, elector of Hanover. George was an enemy of the treaty of Utrecht and a friend of the Whigs, and Bolingbroke feared lest his accession should involve the expulsion of the Tories from office. Above all things, Bolingbroke was a strong party man, and he began to think that his party could only be kept in place by overthrowing the Act of Settlement. He had no faith in divine right or arbitrary power, but he preferred a Stewart to a foreign king, and put the interests of his party first

The Tory
ministry
and the
Protestant
succession.

of all. There were still many Tories and High Churchmen who upheld the divine right of the old line of kings, and Anne herself was not unwilling to secure the succession for her half-brother. The main obstacle in the way was the fact that James was a Roman Catholic, and that he would not deny or dissemble his faith.

17. Bolingbroke threw himself with eagerness into his treasonable policy. He won over some of his colleagues, but his chief difficulty was with Oxford, who was too cautious and timid to embark upon great risks, and was jealous of the personal ascendancy of the brilliant secretary. The result was a fierce quarrel between Bolingbroke and Oxford, which culminated in an unseemly altercation before the sick queen. Anne took Bolingbroke's side, and on July 27, 1714, deprived his rival of office. Bolingbroke then had everything his own way, and prepared for a revolution. His plans were still but half ready when, on July 30, the queen was smitten with apoplexy. All was now confusion, and the cabinet met to decide what was to be done. While they were deliberating, the Whig dukes of Argyll and Somerset demanded, as privy councillors, to be admitted to share their deliberations. The law knew nothing of cabinets, and they claimed that one privy councillor had as much right to be consulted as another. One of the ministers, the duke of Shrewsbury, backed up their claims, and they insisted that he should be made Oxford's successor as treasurer. The three dukes now took everything upon themselves, and ignoring the ministers, summoned to the council all the privy councillors, the majority of whom were Whigs. When Anne died on August 1, they proclaimed the accession of the elector of Hanover as George I. Bolingbroke shrunk from open resistance, and set down his misfortune to the sudden death of the queen. "In six weeks more," he said, "we should have put things in such a condition that there would have been nothing to fear. But Oxford was removed on Tuesday; the queen died on Sunday! What a world is this, and how does fortune banter us!"

The fall of
Oxford and
the death
of Queen
Anne, 1714.

18. Under Queen Anne the parliamentary union of England and Scotland was happily accomplished. Since the collapse of the Darien project, there had been much ill-feeling between the two countries. It had been hoped that the revolution had set the northern kingdom free to work out its own destinies. But the Darien failure had shown that Scotland, as the weaker power, was still obliged in important matters to follow the lead of England, and

Strained
relations
of England
and Scot-
land, 1699-
1702.

that as long as Scotland remained under a separate government, Scotsmen were shut out from all the sources of wealth which were making England the greatest commercial country in the world. It was clear that things could not go on as they were, and that there must either be complete separation or fuller union. Wise men like William III. saw in the latter course the best way out of the deadlock. But a patriotic party grew up in Scotland, led by Andrew Fletcher, of Salton, who wished for absolute separation between the crowns, and the restoration of Scotland to the position of independence it had enjoyed before 1603. Largely through Fletcher's influence, the Scots rejected William's overtures for a union, and the need of providing for the succession after Anne's death gave him the chance of vindicating the freedom of his country.

19. It had been expected that just as in 1689 Scotland had followed the lead of England, and had dethroned James in favour of William, so after 1701 she would pass a new Act of Security, Succession on the lines of the English Act of Settlement. Fletcher was resolved that Scotland should take up her own line, and in 1703 brought forward a *Bill of Security*, by which on Anne's death the Scottish throne was to go to some Protestant descendant of the royal house, but excluding the successor to the English throne, unless he accepted a series of *Limitations*, by which all the power of the crown in Scotland was permanently handed over to a committee of the Scottish Parliament. It was the moment of the crisis of the Spanish succession war, and Godolphin dared not risk a conflict between England and Scotland. After once refusing the royal assent to the Bill of Security, Anne accepted it in 1704.

20. The Act of Security was in substance a declaration of war. The English not unnaturally retaliated by cutting off all trade with Scotland, denying the Scots all rights in England, and by massing troops on the Borders. But gradually the Scots became more prudent. If they quarrelled with England, they lost all chance of a share in English trade, and there was a real danger lest they became the tools of the Jacobites and endangered Presbyterianism and Protestantism. A middle party arose, called the *Flying Squadron*, which, while professing to hold the balance between Fletcher and the English party, showed a willingness to accept reasonable proposals for union. Godolphin then took up a moderate line, and in 1706 commissioners from the two nations were empowered to draw up the conditions of a treaty.

The Act of
Security,
1703-1704.

The Flying
Squadron
and the
negotia-
tions for
the union,
1704-1707.

In 1707 an *Act of Union* was laid before the two Parliaments. Accepted easily by the English parliament, it also passed through the Scots estates by a small majority, though Scottish national feeling was bitterly opposed to it.

21. By the Act of Union it was agreed that there should be one parliament, one privy council, one government, and the same law of succession to the united monarchy. The United Kingdom was to be called Great Britain, with a national flag—the “Union Jack,” made of the crosses of St. Andrew and St. George combined. Scotland was to be represented in the united parliament by forty-five commoners, chosen by the shires and burghs, and by sixteen peers, elected by the whole body of Scottish nobles. The Presbyterian Church system was declared the only government of the Church within Scotland, and every monarch was required on his accession to take an oath to protect it. The Scottish law courts and law were continued, though there was now an appeal from the Court of Session at Edinburgh to the House of Lords. Complete commercial equality between the two countries was established, so that Scots might trade with the English colonies. This last clause was very important, because it soon gave the Scots such material advantages from the union that they were content to put up with the rest of it. Moreover, the wise care taken to safeguard the Scottish Church and the Scottish law blunted the sharpest edge of hostility. Yet the union remained intensely unpopular in Scotland, and even in England was looked upon with but little favour. The best sign of the hostility of the Scots to the new system was soon to be found in the fact that within forty years of the Act, the fervid Protestants of the north twice stood aside and allowed the Highlanders to proclaim popish pretenders.

The parliamentary union of England and Scotland, 1707.

CHAPTER VIII

GREAT BRITAIN UNDER THE STEWARTS

1. In the course of the Stewart period England became the greatest colonizing and commercial nation in the world. We have seen how she established colonies in North America and the West Indies, and trading stations in Africa and India, which spread English commerce and influence over distant lands. While the Stewarts were still on the throne, England made up for the lateness with which she had entered in these fields by the superior energy and vigour with which she outdistanced Portugal and beat Holland after a severe struggle. The last Stewart reigns saw the carrying trade of the Dutch transferred to England. Our colonies became more important than those of any European state save Spain, and infinitely superior to those of the Spaniards in all that makes new lands great. The same age witnessed the first triumphs of England over France, and the beginnings of the long process that was to bring the trade and colonies so laboriously established by Louis XIV. under the control of the English state. After the Revolution and the treaty of Utrecht, England had established herself firmly as the chief trading power of Europe.

2. The effects of this expansion on England were numerous and important. The growth of trade resulted in increased weight being given to commercial questions, enhanced the wealth and influence of the trading classes, and profoundly affected our foreign policy. It enabled a larger national income to be levied without inconvenience to the taxpayer, and thus made it possible to equip the navy which contested with the Dutch and French for the supremacy of the seas, and the great armies which, under William III. and Marlborough, broke down the supremacy of Louis XIV. Banking and finance became important, as was shown by the establishment of the Bank of England. Men began to give serious thought to the problems arising from commerce, and to those questions

Colonial
and com-
mercial
develop-
ment.

Results of
the growth
of trade on
England.

concerning the production and distribution of wealth which are called *economic*. The theory of trade which now held the field was called the *Mercantile System*. This taught that the advantage of foreign trade depends upon the amount of gold and silver which it brought into a country. If a trade thus brought in bullion, the *Balance of Trade* was said to be in our favour; if not, then the balance was against us. It was, therefore, a matter of supreme concern to make exports exceed imports, and the growth of exports involved the increase of manufactures and commerce.

3. Manufactures became more numerous and important, though England still remained a commercial and agricultural rather than a manufacturing country, and depended upon France, Holland, and the East for the finer wares which our own Manufactures. craftsmen were still unable to produce. A great impetus was given to our industries when the persecutions of the French Protestants by Louis XIV. drove to Britain as to other Protestant lands a large number of skilled Huguenot mechanics and craftsmen. Agriculture was so prosperous that farmers and landlords alike thrived, and the demand for more land led to great schemes for draining swamps and fens, of which the most important was that carried out by Dutch engineers in the fen district of northern Cambridgeshire, where vast tracts of country were turned from their old condition of an unhealthy desert into the best corn-growing land in England.

4. The peasantry shared in the increased prosperity, and pauperism, so terrible a trouble under the Tudors, became less burdensome under the Stewarts. Yet it still remained The poor a real evil, and the unequal distribution of the poor and the made their relief very burdensome to those districts poor law. where the poor chiefly congregated. Hoping to remedy this, the Restoration Parliament passed the *Act of Settlement of 1662*. By it, each parish was allowed to remove a new-comer, likely to become chargeable to the rates, to the place where he had previously had a legal settlement. The act gave a great blow to vagrancy, but by tying down the workman to the spot of his birth, prevented him from transferring himself freely to the district where his services were most wanted.

5. Population grew, but not rapidly. Towards the end of the century there were perhaps five million inhabitants of England and Wales. The north was still poor and scantily peopled, and the increase was still mainly in the east and south. London, which had perhaps half a million inhabitants, was the only really large

town, the next to it being Bristol and Norwich, with about thirty thousand inhabitants in each. It followed from this inequality that

London had immense influence on politics, fashion, and opinion. Nearly all the ablest men lived in or near it; nearly all the printing of the nation was

done there. It had grown so enormously since Elizabeth's days that men grew alarmed, and feared that it would soon prove impossible to feed, govern, and keep healthy so great a mass of human beings. Yet the measures taken to prevent the growth of London proved entirely ineffectual, and great suburbs arose on every side of the city of London, which did not extend its ancient narrow limits. A fashionable quarter grew up round the court to the west, while manufacturing and commercial regions extended eastwards of the city down the course of the Thames. The new districts were less overcrowded than the city, and free from the antiquated rules of the city companies, which restrained rather than encouraged the trades they were meant to protect. The sanitary condition of city and suburbs alike was deplorable. Until the reign of James I. all drinking water came from the Thames or from shallow wells, until the *New River Company* brought a wholesome supply of running water from the streams of Hertfordshire. Plague was seldom long absent, and the wooden, closely packed houses were in constant danger of fire. After the Great Fire in the city, brick replaced wood as a building material, but no attempt was made to rebuild the town on an intelligent plan, or with streets and public places of adequate size. The streets were badly paved, dirty, and ill-lighted; the police was very ineffective; robbery and violence were common, and after dark bands of gentlemen amused themselves by assaulting and insulting the passers-by.

6. With all its drawbacks, life in London had plenty of attractions. Until 1642 the playhouses were in full swing, but they were then closed by order of parliament, and were not reopened until the Restoration. After that event plays were represented with much more attention to scenery and spectacular effects than in the days of Elizabeth and James I. Women for the first time acted in the female parts, and ballet-dancing, brought in from France, became popular. Gentlemen exercised themselves at the riding-school or with fencing, tennis, and a game at ball called *pal-mall*. They amused themselves with the fashionable sports of cock-fighting, horse-racing, and gambling. It was a sign of the progress of refinement that the old national amusements of bull- and bear-baiting were no longer approved of

Amuse-
ments.

in polite circles, though still extremely popular with the people. The bear-gardens were also used for boxing and prize-fights with swords. Two features of the Restoration period were the opening of public gardens, of which Vauxhall was the most famous, and the growth of *Coffee-houses*, which served the purpose of modern clubs, and were centres of gossip and society. Coffee and tea were first drunk in Charles II.'s time, and these beverages did something to change social habits and make life more refined, though drunkenness was still very common in all classes of society. Charles II. was famous for bringing in a more elegant way of living, but foreigners still complained of the grossness of English repasts. There was still only two meals a day. Dinner was at one o'clock, and few took anything earlier but a "morning-draught" of beer, with some bread-and-butter.

7. Despite the badness of the roads men flocked to London, and fashionable people spent their holidays at inland watering-places, such as Bath, Tunbridge Wells, Harrogate, or Buxton. Coaches, which were a rare luxury under Elizabeth, Communi-
cations. became common, though active people, who wished to travel quickly, still preferred to go on horseback. Carriers' waggons began to replace pack-horses as means of transporting goods, especially in the south. Stage-coaches began under the Commonwealth, and under Charles II. flying-coaches, as they were called, managed to travel about fifty miles a day. Hackney-coaches, plying for hire in the streets, first began under the Commonwealth, and the same period saw the establishment of a government *postal system*, which the Restoration adopted and improved.

8. Dress underwent a complete revolution during the century. The dignified costume of the gentlemen depicted in Van Dyck's portraits of the contemporaries of James I. and Charles I. became more fantastic and extravagant Dress. towards the middle of the century, and afforded reasonable grounds for Puritan attack. Some simplification resulted for a time from Puritan influence, though it is an exaggeration to suppose that the politics of a gentleman during the Civil War could at once be discerned by the cut and colour of his clothes. Under Charles II., the doublet and long cloak ceased to be worn, and in their place men dressed in the garments which ultimately became the modern coat and waistcoat, and in loose knee-breeches. Low shoes superseded boots, and a lace cravat took the place of bands. Early in the reign men shaved their heads, and used wigs instead of their

own hair. Up to this time moustaches and a pointed beard had been generally worn, even by bishops like Laud, but with the introduction of the periwig the face began to be clean-shaven. Ladies dress underwent similar changes. The beauties of Charles II.'s court wore trains and low dresses, and, like men, many of them adopted wigs, while others wore "puffs" of false curls, extended on wires, that made their heads look very wide. Patches also came into common use.

9. In fashionable circles education became more and more the learning of good and graceful manners, and for this, as for more solid things, every one, after the Restoration, looked to France for guidance. Education. Gentlemen of fashion were content with a superficial smattering of elegant French culture, and the average lady of quality could neither spell nor express herself correctly. Yet there were many scholarly and learned men in the chief professions, and even among the higher classes. In the great world the elements of knowledge became more widespread, and the growing taste for reading encouraged the multiplication of books, pamphlets, and newspapers. Since the days of Whitgift and Laud the universities had been purged of all Puritan leanings, until, under the Commonwealth, they were reformed on Puritan lines. The expulsion of many men of learning because of their views led to evil results, despite the high character of the Puritan scholars who replaced them. Things were made worse when the Restoration brought about more ejections on political and religious grounds. Both Oxford and Cambridge were strong supporters of Church and king, but the violence of their politics did not prevent the prosecution of serious study. In particular they became the centres of the strict investigation of nature, which was a marked feature of the time.

10. The revolt of the Reformation against the Middle Ages had led to an utter contempt for its theories of natural science.

The *Novum Organum* of Francis Bacon, though of little influence on scientific workers, expressed with brilliant eloquence the high expectations which gifted minds had formed of the fruitful results to be expected from the scientific methods of observation and experiment. The great British men of science of this age were the Scottish laird, Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of *logarithms*, and William Harvey, Charles I.'s physician, who demonstrated the *circulation of the blood*. About the middle of the century the diffused interest in experimental science led to the periodic meeting

together of a little band of able men devoted to its pursuit. This society was incorporated in 1662 under the name of the *Royal Society* by Charles II., who was himself much interested in these studies. Among the early members of this body was Isaac Newton, a professor of mathematics at Cambridge, whose famous mathematical and physical discoveries raised him to a unique position among English men of science. By the labours of these men the foundations of modern English science were securely laid.

11. The steady progress of science stands in strong contrast to the necessary fluctuations of art. Under James I. nobles built their great country houses on lines which are not readily distinguishable from those of the age of Elizabeth, but Architec-
ture. two new impulses came in early in the century, when the Laudian school revived the use of Gothic architecture, notably at Oxford, and when the work of the Welsh architect, Inigo Jones, brought into England a taste for the classical buildings which the example of the Italian designer, Palladio, had already made fashionable in Italy. After the Restoration, Sir Christopher Wren carried out still further the work begun by Inigo Jones. The Great Fire of London gave him a unique opportunity. His new St. Paul's and a crowd of noble city churches have immortalized his name. His eye for proportion made the interior of many of his churches beautiful works of art, conspicuous among them being St. Stephen's, Walbrook. A special feature of his work were the graceful spires and towers which, grouped round the great dome of St. Paul's, still give the characteristic feature to all views of the modern city of London. His pupils carried on his traditions far into the eighteenth century, and Queen Anne's Act for building fifty new churches round London gave them opportunities of showing their skill. Domestic architecture found its best models in the brick-built houses of Holland, and culminated in the picturesque and convenient "Queen Anne" style, which has been largely revived in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

12. There was more taste for painting and sculpture in England under the Stuarts than under the Tudors. Charles I. was a discerning patron of art, and, despite his scanty means, Painting,
sculpture,
and music. made a fine collection of pictures. Though no Englishman made a great name for himself as a painter or sculptor, many distinguished foreign artists took up their residence in England, and produced there many of their best works. Conspicuous among these were the magnificent Flemish

colourist, Peter Paul Rubens, and his best pupil, Antony Van Dyck, both of whom were dubbed knights by Charles I. Puritan intolerance worked havoc with all forms of art. Charles I's pictures were sold and dispersed, though the sound taste of Cromwell saved some of the most precious of them for the country. Peter Lely, a shrewd Dutchman, came to England during the Commonwealth, and for forty years did an excellent business in painting all manner of men and women, from the Lord Protector to the ladies of Charles II.'s court. His successor was another foreigner, Godfrey Kneller. Very important was the work of the incomparable Dutch wood-carver, Grinling Gibbons, whose tasteful and delicate work adorned the interior of many of Wren's churches. Music received a peculiarly heavy blow from Puritan ascendancy, especially by reason of the hostility of Puritans to the dignified worship of the cathedrals, whose choirs had always been the best schools of English vocal art. Yet two of the foremost Puritans, Cromwell and Milton, were sincere lovers of music, and the cathedral choir, revived after the Restoration, produced in Henry Purcell a great English composer, whose untimely death cut off the prospect of the growth of a really English school of musicians. Under the Commonwealth and Charles II., Italian *opera* was first introduced into England, and Purcell himself wrote notable operas. This form of art, though ridiculed by Addison as foreign and womanish, became popular, and did something by its combination of poetry and music to compensate for the decay of the *masque* of the early seventeenth century.

13. The revolution in taste and feeling which the Stewart period showed is strikingly illustrated in its literature. Under The drama. James I. we were still in the Elizabethan age. The first years of the reign of the first Stewart witnessed the production of the most sublime of Shakespeare's dramas. But about 1611 Shakespeare retired with a fortune to Stratford, where he died in 1616. Seven years after his death, in 1623, the *First Folio*, the earliest collected edition of his works, was published by his friends and fellow-actors. His place as a dramatist was in some measure taken by his friend, Ben Jonson (1573-1637), a rough, strong, and learned playwright and an admirable critic, who, as he grew old, became the oracle of the chief literary society of his time. After Jonson the chief dramatists of James I.'s reign were Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, who wrote many plays in partnership, and John Webster, a man of mighty tragic genius. Under Charles I., Philip Massinger and John Ford carried on the

Elizabethan tradition. But the character of the drama changed slowly but surely, becoming more fantastic, extravagant, and profligate. Yet good pieces were still written until the closing of the playhouses in 1642, and James Shirley, the last of the "Elizabethan" dramatists, lived to see the theatres reopened in 1660. After the Restoration dramatic fashions changed, though the plays of the great period were still admired and acted, and John Dryden (1631-1700), the foremost man who wrote for the stage, based the style of his later dramas on the Elizabethans. However, in his earlier pieces Dryden had imitated the classical French school, and had adopted the heroic rhyming couplet as his dramatic metre. The theatre now became limited to bombastic and empty "heroic" tragedy, and to bright and witty but coarse comedies of manners, the work of the so-called *Restoration dramatists*, whose main work was done towards the end of the seventeenth century. The famous attack of the Non-juring divine, Jeremy Collier, on the profligacy of the stage, was written under William III. in 1698. Under Queen Anne, Joseph Addison attempted, with no great success, to bring into England the severe and stately forms of the classic French drama. The stage, still popular as an amusement, failed to play the part in the life of the later Stewarts which it had taken before the Civil Wars.

14. The poets of the early Stewarts worthily continued Elizabethan tradition, and a remarkable aftergrowth of the Elizabethan spirit was to be seen in the delicate school of lyric poets which flourished in the middle of the century, Milton and the poets. and whose most charming representative was Robert Herrick. The Laudian revival produced a school of religious poets, whose best-known work is to be seen in the quaint piety of "holy George Herbert." A deeper and more individual note was struck by John Milton (1608-1674), a London scrivener's son, whose early verse, sweet, musical, and strong, produced between 1629 and 1637, would in itself entitle him to a great place in our literature. Called away from poetry by travel and politics, he wrote no verse, save a few masterly sonnets, for more than twenty years, lavishing his great powers on his routine work as Latin secretary to the council of state set up after Charles I.'s death, and only employing his pen on political pamphleteering, the acrimony and narrowness of which are redeemed by its splendid eloquence. The Restoration sent the Cromwellian partisan into a retirement which was made more irksome by his blindness and domestic troubles. His austere and somewhat impracticable character had kept him aloof from his

age even in the days of his pamphlet-writing. He was doubly lonely when, amidst the riot of the Restoration, his genius attained its loftiest heights in *Paradise Lost*, which wedded the severest and sternest spirit of Puritanism to the most exquisite and scholarly music. Yet sound critics, like Dryden, at once recognized the unique greatness of the Puritan epic, and to men who loathed his politics and religion, Milton's solitary figure represented all that was most characteristic of English literature.

15. After Milton's death, Dryden represented the prevailing tendency in our poetry. He stood as literary oracle to the end of the century in much the same position as Ben Jonson had attained in a previous age. His generation was largely influenced by the dominant classic school of France. The spontaneous poetry of emotion was now succeeded by the studied poetry of the intelligence, and it was characteristic that Dryden's most famous verses, *Absalom and Achitophel*, and *The Hind and the Panther*, dealt with such subjects as the Popish Plot and the religious controversies excited by James II.'s attempt to win back England to Rome. For the naturalness and freshness of the older poetry we have now to go from the fashionable versifiers to such works as the vivid and life-like allegories of the village preacher of the Baptists, John Bunyan, whose *Pilgrim's Progress*, published in 1678, sets forth the Puritan ideal with a dramatic force and vividness that make it a real prose poem. Bunyan's were the first great books in modern English literature written by a man of the people for the people.

16. Prose thus advanced while poetry declined. Early in the century a noble standard of good prose-style was set almost unconsciously by the committee of scholars who drew up the *Authorized Version* of the Bible. The majestic but involved periods of Elizabethan prose still formed the model of the stately periods of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, of the poetic and luscious eloquence of Jeremy Taylor, and of the rich meditative soliloquies of Sir Thomas Browne, the Norwich physician. As men read more widely and more hurriedly, the style of books began gradually to assimilate itself to the spoken speech. A crowd of pamphlets and newspapers, produced by the Civil Wars and the fierce party strife of the later seventeenth century, helped forward the creation of a natural prose. Dryden's famous critical works first gave the new prose the stamp of a high style and the sanction of a great name. French influence is as decisive on the development of our prose as on the new

Dryden and
the poetry
of the Re-
storation.

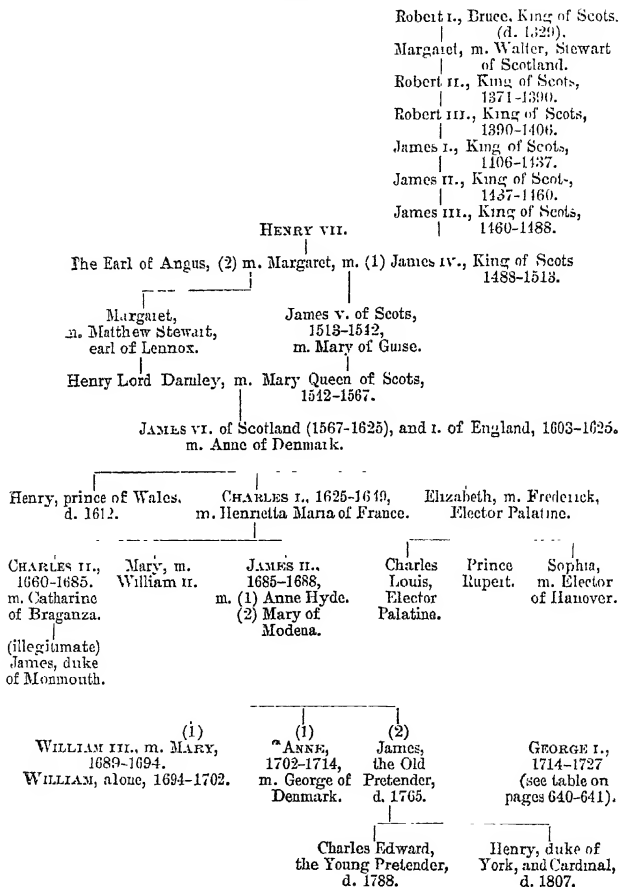
Establish-
ment of a
modern
prose-style.

departure in our poetry. Before the end of the century, a nervous, simple, and idiomatic standard of composition had become established which greatly raised the level of all the journeymen work of literature and of the books whose importance rests in facts and arguments rather than in their style. It attained its culmination in the age of Queen Anne, when the periodical essay which began with Steele's *Tutler* in 1709, became famous when Addison joined him in 1711 in starting the *Spectator*, which "brought philosophy out of closets, libraries, and schools, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea-tables and coffee-houses."

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR THE FURTHER STUDY OF THE PERIOD
1603-1714

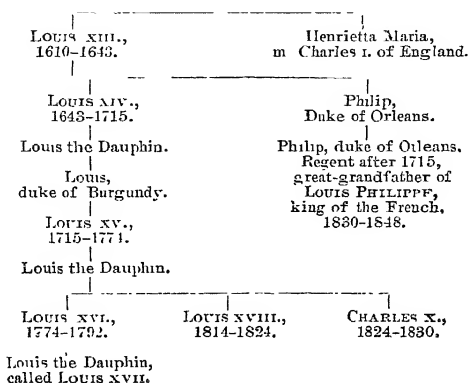
S. R. Gardiner's elaborate investigations cover the period 1603-1656, and are detailed, careful, impartial, and authoritative. His work is published as *History of England to the Outbreak of the Great Civil War, 1603-1642* (10 vols.), *History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649* (4 vols.), and *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1656* (3 vols.). It is continued in C. H. Firth's *Last Years of the Protectorate, 1656-1658* (2 vols.). Gardiner's short books, the *Puritan Revolution*, the *Thirty Years' War* (both in "Longmans' Epochs of Modern History"), and *Cromwell's Place in History*, give briefly some of his chief conclusions. C. H. Firth's *Oliver Cromwell* ("Heroes of the Nations") and *Cromwell's Army* are of great importance. Airy's *English Restoration and Louis XIV.*, and Morris's *Age of Anne* (both in "Epochs of Modern History"), are useful for the latter part of the period. For ecclesiastical history, Frere's *History of the English Church under Elizabeth and James I.*, W. H. Hutton's *History of the English Church from Charles I. to Anne*, W. A. Shaw's *History of the Church during the Commonwealth*, and H. Wakeman's *The Church and the Puritans 1570-1660*. The Oxford translation of Ranke's *History of England in the Seventeenth Century* (6 vols.), and J. R. Seeley's *Growth of British Policy* (2 vols.), are of special value for foreign policy. Lucy Hutchinson's *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson* and the *Memoirs of the Verney Family* (4 vols.) throw light on English society of the Puritan period; while Pepys' and Evelyn's *Diaries* illustrate the social life of the age of the Restoration; and Macaulay's *History of England* tells with great detail and picturesqueness the history of the reigns of James II. and William III., and G. M. Trevelyan's *England under the Stuarts* ably sketches the general tendencies of the period. The period is covered by three volumes of Longmans' *Political History of England*, vol. vii., 1603-1660, by F. C. Montague; vol. viii., 1660-1702, by R. Lodge; and vol. ix., 1702-1760, by I. S. Leadam.

GENEALOGY OF THE STEWART KINGS IN SCOTLAND AND
ENGLAND



BOURBON KINGS OF FRANCE

HENRY IV.,
1589-1610
(formerly duke of Bourbon and king of Navarre; descendant in male
line of Robert, sixth son of Louis IX.)



LIST OF MINISTRIES AFTER 1689

- 1689-1696. Mixed Ministry of Whigs and Tories.
- 1696-1701. First Whig Ministry of the *Junto*.
- 1701-1708. Mixed Ministries of varying character under Marlborough and Godolphin.
- 1708-1710. Whig Ministry under Marlborough and Godolphin.
- 1710-1714. Oxford and Bolingbroke Ministry (Tory).

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